

Rural Sociology

VOL. I

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CONTENTS

<i>Forms and Problems of Culture-Integration and Methods of Their Study.</i> By Pitirim A. Sorokin.....	121
<i>The Rural Community in the United States as an Elementary Group.</i> By Dwight Sanderson.....	142
<i>Rural Young People Face Their Own Situation.</i> By E. L. Kirkpatrick and Agnes M. Boynton.....	151
<i>The Annual Rate of Departure of Rural Youths from Their Parental Homes.</i> By C. Horace Hamilton.....	164
<i>The Study of the Life Cycle of Families.</i> By Charles P. Loomis.....	180
<i>Concentration of Rural Relief in Certain Localities in North Carolina.</i> By Gordon W. Blackwell.....	200
<i>Rural Emergency Recreation and Future Rural Social Planning.</i> By Bruce L. Melvin.....	214
<i>Current Bulletins.</i> Edited by Charles P. Loomis.....	221
<i>Book Reviews</i>	
Black, <i>The Dairy Industry and the A.A.A.</i> , by Arthur C. Bunce.....	227
Nordskog, <i>Social Reform in Norway: A Study of Nationalism and Social Democ- racy</i> , by C. Arnold Anderson.....	229
Holt, <i>German Agricultural Policy, 1918-1934</i> , by Charles P. Loomis.....	230
Deutscher Rentenbank-Kreditanstalt, <i>Die Kreditlage der deutschen Landwirtschaft im Wirtschaftsjahr 1933-1934</i> , by Charles P. Loomis.....	230
Gueland, <i>Das Reichserbhofrecht, Eine systematische Gesetzeserleuterung</i> , by Charles P. Loomis.....	231
Sims, <i>Elements of Rural Sociology</i> , by E. D. Tetreau.....	233
Zimmerman and Frampton, <i>Family and Society: A Study of the Sociology of Reconstruction</i> , by Geo. F. Theriault and E. L. Kirkpatrick.....	235
Dawson, <i>Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada</i> , by Carle C. Zimmerman.....	237
Menefee, <i>A Plan for Regional Administrative Districts in the State of Washing- ton</i> , by George H. Hansen.....	239
Odum, <i>Southern Regions of the United States</i> , by Harold C. Hoffsommer.....	240
Harris, <i>County Finances in the State of Washington, with Particular Attention to the Financial Problems of County Welfare Activities and Unemployment Relief</i> , by Robert A. Polson.....	242
<i>News Notes and Announcements</i>	244
<i>Books Received</i>	253

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<i>Forms and Problems of Culture-Integration and Methods of Their Study.</i> By Pitirim A. Sorokin.....	121
<i>The Rural Community in the United States as an Elementary Group.</i> By Dwight Sanderson.....	142
<i>Rural Young People Face Their Own Situation.</i> By E. L. Kirkpatrick and Agnes M. Boynton.....	151
<i>The Annual Rate of Departure of Rural Youths from Their Parental Homes.</i> By C. Horace Hamilton.....	164
<i>The Study of the Life Cycle of Families.</i> By Charles P. Loomis.....	180
<i>Concentration of Rural Relief in Certain Localities in North Carolina.</i> By Gordon W. Blackwell.....	200
<i>Rural Emergency Recreation and Future Rural Social Planning.</i> By Bruce L. Melvin.....	214
<i>Current Bulletins.</i> Edited by Charles P. Loomis.....	221
<i>Book Reviews</i>	
Black, <i>The Dairy Industry and the A.A.A.</i> , by Arthur C. Bunce.....	227
Nordskog, <i>Social Reform in Norway: A Study of Nationalism and Social Democ- racy</i> , by C. Arnold Anderson.....	229
Holt, <i>German Agricultural Policy, 1918-1934</i> , by Charles P. Loomis.....	230
Deutscher Rentenbank-Kreditanstalt, <i>Die Kreditlage der deutschen Landwirtschaft im Wirtschaftsjahr 1933-1934</i> , by Charles P. Loomis.....	230
Gueland, <i>Das Reichserbhofrecht, Eine systematische Gesetzeserleuterung</i> , by Charles P. Loomis.....	231
Sims, <i>Elements of Rural Sociology</i> , by E. D. Tetreau.....	233
Zimmerman and Frampton, <i>Family and Society: A Study of the Sociology of Reconstruction</i> , by Geo. F. Theriault and E. L. Kirkpatrick.....	235
Dawson, <i>Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada</i> , by Carle C. Zimmerman.....	237
Menefee, <i>A Plan for Regional Administrative Districts in the State of Washing- ton</i> , by George H. Hansen.....	239
Odum, <i>Southern Regions of the United States</i> , by Harold C. Hoffsommer.....	240
Harris, <i>County Finances in the State of Washington, with Particular Attention to the Financial Problems of County Welfare Activities and Unemployment Relief</i> , by Robert A. Polson.....	242
<i>News Notes and Announcements</i>	244
<i>Books Received</i>	253

Forms and Problems of Culture-Integration and Methods of Their Study

Pitirim A. Sorokin

CULTURE-INTEGRATION AND CULTURE-UNITY—A DARK PROBLEM

IS EVERY culture an integrated whole, where no essential part is incidental but each organically connected with the rest? Or, is a culture a mere spatial congeries of objects, values, and traits, which have drifted fortuitously together and are united by spatial adjacency—elements merely thrown together—and nothing more? If the first alternative is chosen then we may ask: What is the principle of integration, the axis around which all the essential characteristics are centered and which explains why these characteristics are what they are and why they live and pulsate as they do? This is the problem which I shall consider briefly in this paper.

For the moment it is unimportant how we define human culture. *In the broadest sense it may mean the sum total of everything which is created or modified by the conscious or unconscious activity of two or more individuals interacting with one another or conditioning one another's behavior.*¹ According to this definition, not only science, philosophy, religion, art, technics, and all the physical paraphernalia of an advanced civilization are cultural phenomena; but the trace of a foot-

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¹ This paper is one of the introductory chapters of my work, now in process of completion, on *Integrated Culture, Its Types and Life-Processes: A Study of Socio-Cultural Fluctuations*. The author is indebted to the Harvard Committee for Research in the Social Sciences, for financial help in the preparation of this study.

step on the sand left by a savage and seen by Robinson Crusoe, a heap of refuse and broken trees left by an exploring party in a virgin forest, the bones, shells and ashes left by some prehistoric tribe in the ground excavated by an archeologist—these and millions of other human creations and modifications are all a part of culture. Such a definition is the broadest possible, and these wide limits are accepted by many anthropologists and sociologists. Others give a narrower definition, limiting culture to collective and superindividual creations (Tylor); or creations which are marked by "exteriority and constraint" (Durkheim); or those which are due not to heredity but to invention, imitation or borrowing (Tarde); or those which represent a variety of social thought (De Roberty); or, finally, only the finest and most magnificent creations of human genius in the form of masterpieces in science, philosophy, religion, art, law, and technique.

Which of these definitions is correct is unimportant for my present purposes. Most of them, however, are far from being clear and satisfactory, for they replace one unknown, x , by another factor not better known, y .² But I shall not press this point. Instead I ask, to what extent are these definitions used consistently by their authors in discussing the problem of integrated and non-integrated culture? And how much do they help towards a comprehension of all the numerous subsidiary questions connected with that basic problem?

Many cultural anthropologists, sociologists, historians, and social scientists seem to assume unreservedly that each culture is an integrated whole, and that non-integrated culture either does not exist or represents something rare and abnormal. Here is a typical example of this view:

A culture is a functioning dynamic unit and the various traits which compose it are interdependent. A culture trait does not function in isolation nor independently of other traits of the culture, but each is influenced by a change in any

² For instance, what are the criteria which distinguish the peculiarly "individual" from "group" traits? Likewise, there are enormous difficulties involved in separating clearly "inherited" from "acquired" traits, or the traits which are stamped by "exteriority" and "constraint" from those which are "free" and "internal." In this, as well as in the subsequent points discussed, analytical thinking has been shallow.

phase of the culture. . . . Since the traits which comprise a culture are interrelated, an innovation affects the entire culture.³

The assumption here is one of complete integration, that no trait can be properly understood without a consideration of the whole culture in question. Almost all of those who claim that culture is a unity, or an organism, or a living and functioning whole (from the promulgators of various organic, organismic, and organic theories of society and culture, from the sociological realists and universalists, to the Spenglerian type of philosophers) are either explicit or implicit partisans of this belief.⁴ The same is true of those who with one factor or variable—be it economic, racial, geographic, familistic, or religious—try to explain the main characteristics of a given culture as mere functions of the selected variable or factor. In essence, such theories assume the existence of a causal or functional relationship between a main factor and the other properties of a given culture, making the other properties merely the "superstructure," the "result," the "function," or the "satellite" of the factor postulated. Such a theory in its very nature assumes that the culture is functionally integrated.

But the champions of the integrated character of culture do not agree in all respects. Some seem to assume an integration with no reservations, as illustrated in the statements by Wilson D. Wallis which were quoted above. Others make reservations similar to the following: "A culture, like an individual, is a more or less *consistent* pattern of thought and action. . . . This integration of cultures is not in the least mythical." It is true, the author continues, that "Some cultures, like some periods of art, fail of such integration. . . . But cultures at every level of complexity, even the simplest, have achieved it." And further we read, "This lack of integration seems to be as characteristic of certain cultures as extreme integration is of others."⁵

³ Wilson D. Wallis, *Culture and Progress* (New York, 1930), pp. 11-12, and chaps. i and ii. Cf. Howard Becker, "Culture Case Study," *Social Forces*, XII (1934), 399; Sanford Winston, *Culture and Human Behavior* (New York, 1935), p. 32.

⁴ For a discussion of these theories see my *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (New York, 1928), chaps. ii, iv, and vii.

⁵ Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (Boston, 1934), pp. 46-48.

Most of the recent anthropologists who have dealt intensively with this problem belong to one of the above varieties.⁶ Many of them like Benedict, Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, Mead, Sapir, Wissler, and Dixon virtually claim that a culture is a unity, a functional whole; that it has its own pattern; that it must be studied in its whole configuration if its separate traits are to be properly understood and interpreted. A somewhat similar claim is made by the "statistical investigators."⁷

On the other hand, these investigators indicate that a combination of the culture traits and culture complexes as well as the whole of a given culture may in some cases be "logical," or, in other cases, merely "accidental";⁸ in some cases there are "external associations" of the traits, in others "adhesions" or their intrinsic association;⁹ some cultures may be "genuine," while others are "spurious."¹⁰ Such distinctions make the meaning of the unity or interdependence or integration of culture somewhat indefinite; in a sense they contradict the claim that all cultures are integrated. If some cultures are purely "accidental" or "external" or "spurious" masses of objects, traits, and values, can such congeries be regarded as integrated wholes or unities? If so, does not this make the concept of unity and integration meaningless, since every congeries would now possess organic unity and nothing in the world would be unintegrated? If such an accidental agglomeration is not a unity, then is not this a contradiction of the claim that every culture is an integrated whole? These considerations show the confusion which exists in the field. The chief reason for this confusion seems to be that

⁶ See Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (New York, 1928); Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture* (New York, 1923); Roland B. Dixon, *The Building of Cultures* (New York, 1928); Edward Sapir, *Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture: A Study in Method* (Ottawa, 1916); Bronislaw Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (New York, 1926); "Culture," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1931), IV, 621-46; A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "On the Concept of Functional Social Science," *American Anthropologist*, XXXVII (1935), 394-402.

⁷ E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (London, 1899); and Leonard T. Hobhouse, G. C. Wheeler, and M. Ginsburg, *The Social Institutions and Material Culture of the Simpler Peoples* (London, 1915).

⁸ Dixon, *op. cit.*, pp. 156 ff.

⁹ Wissler, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 ff.

¹⁰ Edward Sapir, "Culture, Genuine and Spurious," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXIX (1924), 401-29.

most of the investigators fail to elucidate exactly what they mean by integration, or unity, or interdependence of parts, or organic character as applied to a culture. As we shall see, either they mean nothing specific, or they include in one term several things so fundamentally different that the whole statement about the integrated character of culture becomes void of clear meaning. Until the investigators make at least an elementary analysis of what they mean by these terms, no real understanding of either the structure and nature of culture, or its traits, or its changes is possible. In the pages which follow, I consider this problem and indicate the main forms of relationship between the various culture traits, characteristics, and complexes from the standpoint of integration, and consequently what may be the main divergent meanings of culture-integration.

VARIOUS MEANINGS OF CULTURE-INTEGRATION

Many of us are familiar with the fine living rooms of some of our well-to-do friends. I have in mind such a room. It is spacious and is filled with exquisite furniture and rare objects of art. It contains a few pieces of antique New England furniture. The ceremonial costume of a Russian priest ("riza") is fastened to one of the walls. Side by side with it is a picture representative of a famous Japanese school of painting. Then there are two works by a French Impressionist and one by a prominent Cubistic painter. There are also an Italian Primitive, two genuine statues of Buddha imported from Siam, two Chinese vases of the T'ang period, and several other treasures of different times and countries. On the floors antique Oriental rugs lie near a hooked rug of old New England. We may say that the living room is a "culture area." Now the question arises: Is the culture represented by the living room an integrated whole, or is it a mere spacial conglomeration of various things (each valuable separately), and is this adjacency the only bond which unites them into a single cultural complex?

Let us assume for a moment that spatial adjacency is the only bond of union. Shall we then style an array of this sort by the term "integrated culture"? Or shall we refuse the term to such accumulations?

Whether or not we grant the term, is of little importance. What is important is that there do exist cultural conglomerations where the parts are bound together by different and additional ties. Suppose we take such a culture area as the Cathedral of Chartres. Most of its component details are not only spatially adjacent but of the same style, and thus are comprehensive parts of the whole—the cathedral of the Christian religion as it was in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. When the essence of the religion is understood, the meaning of almost all of its important venerated objects and forms becomes comprehensible; the parts become inseparable from the whole and from one another. They are, to use an analogy, like the lines and phrases of one book, unified, consistent, devoted to the same topic, where every page is part of the whole, and to be properly understood demands the reading of the rest of the book. The difference between this kind of integrated culture area and that which is based on mere spatial adjacency is evident without further comment.

Let us take, instead of a cathedral, a modern garage or filling station, or factory. Each of these culture complexes is certainly unified. In each the individual components of the total mass of culture objects and traits bear a functional relationship to one another and to the whole, and the entire complex is thus functionally integrated. In the filling station you cannot eliminate either the automatic gasoline fillers, or the air pump, or the tanks, or any of the other essential parts. And this is true of the garage or factory. There are, of course, superficial details such as the architectural style of the building, the landscaping and planting of the surrounding grounds. But subtract these and there still will remain a causal (functional) system of objects, traits, and complexes which cannot be separated without destroying the essential nature of the station, garage, or factory. Here again we sense a coalescence different from that of mere spatial adjacency.

Still another shade of difference in the integration of culture appears when one observes, let us say, a part of a city where, within the area of a few blocks, one sees a conglomeration of Late Gothic, Renaissance

and Baroque buildings, surrounded by the usual flat, two or three-story box-houses. Compare this with the medieval parts of some European cities where everything in sight is Gothic, or with a few blocks in the city of New York occupied entirely by skyscrapers. The difference is immediately evident.

The preceding examples are taken from the realm of "material" culture. Let us turn for further instances to "immaterial" culture. Suppose we take, on the one hand, August Comte's *System of Positive Philosophy*, and, on the other, one of the recent texts in *Social Problems*. Putting aside the question as to whether this or that theory expounded in these works is true, throughout all the volumes of Comte there runs a unity of fundamental principles which binds all the chapters into a logical unity. Unless Comte's law of the three stages is associated with his classification of sciences and principles of positive knowledge, the chapters lose their chief meaning. The work is inwardly integrated by the logic of its main principles. In the text on *Social Problems*, however, usually one chapter treats of Poverty, another of Crime, a third of Fascism or Communism, another of Case Method, another of Religion, another of the City and the Farmer; something may be said on Ecology; Ecology is perhaps followed by a chapter on the Negro and Race Problems; then the book is further enriched by pages on the Family and Birth Control, the League of Nations, and countless other subjects. When one tries to find what unites all these topics, one often finds only the binding of the book. They are connected neither logically nor functionally. The book has become a dumping place for a miscellaneous heap of topics, theories, ideas, facts, their only connection being that of spatial adjacency.

Take a further example from the field of music. Consider the "Gregorian Chant," or Mozart's "Concerto in G Minor," on the one hand, and, on the other, a musical composition by a Hollywood "composer," in which jazz is interspersed with phrases taken from Tchaikovsky, Wagner, Bizet, Handel, Hayden, Berlioz, Bach, and Stravinsky. The contrast is similar to those already considered; one is a consistent, inte-

grated whole; the other is the "dumping place" of opposite and unrelated fragments united on the pages of a manuscript or played in adjacent units of time.

This is enough illustration. It has been shown that there are various forms of integration which differ fundamentally from one another. Now we can attempt to arrange them, reducing their multiplicity to a few fundamental classes and indicating the basis of integration for each class.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE MAIN FORMS OF THE INTEGRATION OF CULTURE ELEMENTS

The numerous interrelations of the various elements¹¹ of culture can be reduced to four basic types: 1. *Spatial or Mechanical Adjacency*, ranging from a loose and accidental concurrence of two or more cultural objects to a mechanical union of the elements into one structural unity (say glued, cemented, sewn, or tied together). 2. *Association Due to an External Factor*. 3. *Functional or Causal Integration*. 4. *Internal or Logico-Meaningful Unity*.

Spatial or Mechanical Adjacency (Congeries). This means any conglomeration of cultural elements (objects, traits, values, ideas) in a given area of social and physical space, with spatial or mechanical concurrence as the only bond of union. A dump in which there are fragments of a great variety of objects—pieces of paper, broken bottles, empty cans, fragments of clothing, discarded spoons, wire, garbage, furniture, ashes, coal, tools—provides an example of such a combination. All these objects drifted or were thrown together, and spatial proximity is the only bond uniting them. An attic with its miscellaneous array of articles, from the ancient family album to the broken chair, is another example. The drawing room mentioned above, with

¹¹ The usual division of the elements of culture into "traits," "complexes," and unified "patterns" is very relative; any element can be regarded in one case as a trait, in others as a complex or even a pattern. The same is true of the pattern and the complex. Therefore there is no need to follow this division. It still must undergo a great deal of critical analysis before it can become a real tool for scientific study of cultural phenomena. The term "element" as used in the present context means a part of a given cultural conglomeration, no matter whether the part is a trait, a complex, or even a pattern.

its valuable but functionally or logically unrelated furnishings, is still another. The same may be said of the cases of the spatial conglomeration of various architectural styles and of the logically unrelated discussions of various social problems within the limits of one book. Two pieces of paper (for example, a page from Plato's *Republic* and the advertisement of an automobile company) glued together into one meaningless mechanical unity; an Ionic or Corinthian column attached to a flat-roofed garage without architectural, aesthetic, or structural significance; these and hundreds of similar combinations are examples of the spatial and purely mechanical congeries of various cultural objects and values.¹² As a matter of fact, what anthropologists call a culture area is often nothing more than a spatial adjacency of the traits and complexes of the area in question. The same is to be said of the culture complexes which Dixon calls "accidental." The anthropologists themselves have indicated neither functional nor inherent and logical bonds between various complexes and traits found within the area. This does not mean that, if proper search is made, such bonds may not be found. It means that, owing to the lack of a preliminary analysis of various forms of integration, many anthropologists and sociologists pay attention only to spatial and mechanical distribution, to whether integration is concentric or eccentric, and to the frequency of occurrence of its elements; they forget to analyze carefully the further bonds, functional and logical, that may unite these traits.

Is there such a further liaison? If so, what is its nature? With reference not only to primitive culture but also to modern culture, the search for answers to such questions is often lacking. For instance, Wissler finds three dominant characteristics in our culture: *mechanical invention, mass education, and universal suffrage*.¹³ Let us grant that

¹² It may be conceded that the components of such a congeries did not drift together entirely without cause. But as the "causes" are diverse and numerous, their total effect amounts to that of mere accident, as of an unforeseen crossing of two or more unrelated causal series. Such accidental relations are fundamentally different from the causal in a proper sense. See Borel, *Le Hasard* (Paris, 1914); also A. Cournot, *Traité de l'enchaînement des idées fondamentales dans les sciences et dans l'histoire* (Paris, 1861); H. Poincaré, *Science et Méthode* (Paris, 1920), pp. 64ff.

¹³ *Man and Culture*, pp. 5 ff.

this is so. If, however, we ask: Is the coexistence of these three complexes within the area of the United States merely a spatial congeries? Or is it something functionally or internally determined? To these questions we have virtually no answers. And were positive answers hazarded, we might ask: What unites these three complexes into one functional or logical unity? We could then be sure of complete silence. The problems themselves are not raised, so it is not strange that the answers should be lacking. The same questions may be asked—and with no higher expectation of results—about the other traits of American life which Wissler adds to the foregoing three: nationalism,¹⁴ the veneration of the Bible (in connection with the whole problem of Euro-American culture), the sacred seventh day, the codification of the law, militarism, and commercialism.¹⁵

Therefore, when the author says the culture of the United States is "unique" and "typical" and represents a "unity," these statements mean almost nothing, because even a dump is unique, is a spatial unity, and because if all such accidental conglomerations are styled "typical" and "unities," then everything in the world is typical and unified, and the terms become meaningless. To put the problem in another form, we may ask: Is the combination of traits—mechanical invention, mass-education, universal suffrage, nationalism, militarism, the Bible, the seventh sacred day, commercialism—a mere accidental congeries? Or is it a deeper unity, where one part cannot be taken from the others nor exist apart from them? If the first, then any accumulation of contiguous elements of culture will be a culture area, unique, typical, united, integrated. In that case the enormous difference between functional or logical unity and merely accidental, mechanical, or spatial unity is denied, and into one class are put phenomena of entirely different kinds. In that case no difference will be recognized between a haphazard pile of bricks, and, let us say, a house, or between the unassembled parts of an automobile and the automobile itself. Such an equalization of totally different classes of unity is evidently inadmissible.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 25 ff.

If, however, the answer to the question is that the above complex is functionally or inwardly united, then the author must show that we cannot find nationalism without the other traits, the Bible without mechanical inventions, commercialism without mass education, mass education without militarism, universal suffrage without the Bible, and so on. Any attempt to prove all this will be a large order; neither Wissler nor anybody else is able to do it, because, as a matter of fact, each of these elements has existed and exists without many of the other elements of Wissler's Euro-American complex. The complex is such that its elements are separable functionally and logically. Therefore it is not a functional or logical unity in the form in which it is put before us. To sum up, the author, like a great many other anthropologists, ended his analysis where it should have begun. For this reason many of his statements concerning the unity, uniqueness, typicalness, continuity, change, transformation, or span of life of cultural configurations are exceedingly vague, and in part fallacious. Since different sorts of unity are lumped together without distinction, it is natural that the derivative concepts are also a kind of "hash" made out of fundamentally different things.

What is said regarding Wissler's work may be said of many other similar studies. Most of them suffer from the lack of distinction between purely spatial adjacency and functional or logico-internal unity.

Indirect Unification Through a Common External Factor. A somewhat greater unification occurs when two or more spatially adjacent culture elements, although lacking functional or logical connection, are related to one another through the association of each with a common factor external to both or all of them. In the northern part of Vologda province in North Russia, for example, the following culture elements exist together: *vodka* as a beverage; skis used by peasants in the winter; houses built out of heavy timber; large stoves for heating; felt winter boots; the gathering together during the winter evenings of the boys and girls in each of their houses in turn; the performance of plays, singing, and love making. None of these elements requires the others

either logically or functionally. *Vodka* as such does not require skis or felt boots; felt boots do not require a large stove or specific forms of winter-evening entertainment. But all of these traits are perceptibly connected with the climatic conditions of the area with its cold and its long winters. Each trait, through its connection with the climatic factor, is likewise affiliated indirectly with the other traits. As a result we have a unification of heterogeneous culture elements, not only spatially, but also through their connection with one common external factor. This is the unification spoken of by many sociological and anthropological integrators. When Wissler refers to the "tundra-mesa-jungle" cultures, and the complexes and patterns of each of these types, he implies an integration of this kind.¹⁶ When social geographers try to indicate the unity of the many cultural traits of a given area in terms of its geographic conditions, they are talking of the same type of integration. In fact, all the theories which account for either the whole or a part of the traits of a given culture through the geographic, the biological (heredity, race, selection) or any similar factor *outside* of the culture itself are attempting an integration of this kind.¹⁷

This kind of unity is nearer a true integration than that of mere spatial adjacency, but it is still a very low and loose form of integration. A group of heterogeneous traits united only by an external factor does not possess inward cohesion; it is possible to replace any single trait by another which is quite different, provided only that the new trait meets the requirement of connection with the unifying external factor. In northern Russia whisky or rum could serve instead of *vodka*; instead of skis, snowshoes could be used; instead of a large stove made of brick, any stove capable of heating the house well would serve; instead of plays and games during the winter evenings, bridge or dominoes or other pastimes would be suitable. The parts are easily removed and easily replaced. A change in one such element does not require a

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 230 ff. See also Wissler's, *The Relation of Nature to Man in Aboriginal America* (New York, 1926).

¹⁷ See my discussion of these theories in *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, chaps. i, ii, iii, iv, v, and to some extent, vi and vii.

change in the others. The remaining configuration of the culture would suffer little modification, since no direct functional or logical unity exists.

Causal or Functional Integration. By this is meant a combination of cultural elements composing one inseparable unity. Usually, when the elements are "material," functional unity is superimposed upon spatial adjacency and external association, but not every spatially adjacent or externally related combination will be a functionally integrated unity. The parts of an automobile, spread over the floor of a factory, or packed into one box before being assembled, are a mere spatial array. When they are assembled as an automobile, their combination becomes functional and operates so that every important part depends upon the others. The same may be said of the house in contradistinction to the sum of the materials of which it is built—stone, cement, bricks, timber, paint, nails, and so on. Dumped together in one yard, these elements form a mere heap of contiguous parts. When the house is built, it is a structural and functional unity. The same is true of the essential elements of various other "logical" (in Dixon's terminology) culture complexes, like the "horse complex" or the "milk complex."

Similarly, causal or functional unity is of a far higher degree of integration than that of a number of elements spatially adjacent and related through a common external factor. In a functional array the parts are related to one another directly, or, if indirectly, by several internal "centers" which are closer to them in essential nature than is the case in a purely external integration. Every cell of an organism or every bolt in a car is not adjacent or directly related to all the other cells or parts. But all the cells of the organism are directly connected through the nervous system, the circulation of the blood, and the organs, just as the bolts or other parts are united through the frame of the car, the electrical system, and so on. And these unifying factors are all internal to the system itself.

But the simple cases we have been considering are far from exhausting the problems of the functional integration of cultural elements. The field is infinitely larger and more important. In order to make this

clear, a few diagnostic criteria of the functional relationship between the parts of a cultural configuration should be pointed out. Simply stated, they consist chiefly of the *tangible, noticeable, testifiable*,¹⁸ *direct interdependence (mutual or one-sided) of the variables or parts upon one another and upon the whole system*. If variation A is always followed by B (under the same conditions and in a large enough number of cases so that mere chance is eliminated), we say that they are functionally related. *This means that any cultural synthesis is to be regarded as functional when, on the one hand, the elimination of one of its important elements perceptibly influences the rest of the synthesis in its functions (and usually in its structure), and when, on the other hand, the separate element, being transposed to a different combination, either cannot exist in it or has to undergo a profound modification to become a part of it*. Such is the symptomatic barometer of internal integration, a device which merely applies the principle of causality or functionalism to each case in question.

One can now see the profound difference between mere spatial adjacency, external unification, and the deeper synthesis of functional unity. A bolt or spring taken from an unassembled pile of automobile parts does not modify the pile essentially; removed from an assembled car, it may completely prevent the performance of the car. Moreover, the bolt or spring itself does not change in significance when removed from a miscellaneous heap, but if it be detached from a machine in which it performs an essential function, it loses that function entirely.¹⁹ Similarly,

¹⁸ "Tangible, noticeable, testifiable" because theoretically everything in this world is connected. But in some cases (for instance, in the case of the sneezing of a native of the Trobriand Islands and the monetary policy of the United States) the liaison is so negligible that we cannot discover any functional connection between them. In other cases (for instance, a shot by one man and the wound of another following the shot) the connection is evident and testifiable.

¹⁹ Already we note that statements like "the various traits of culture are interdependent," "an innovation affects the entire culture," "the interdependence of traits is a universal characteristic of culture," "when a new trait is added the entire culture is modified" (Wallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-21), statements often made by anthropologists, overshoot the mark enormously. If there are purely spatial conglomerations of cultural elements—and we have seen and shall see that there are many—then the addition, subtraction or modification of one or more elements may not, and often does not, change anything in the rest of the array.

the heart, lungs, head, or any other vital part of a biological organism cannot be removed without impairing the organism itself, nor can these organs be made to function outside of their organism as they functioned in it.²⁰

Let us now pass on to more complex examples. Can we take, for instance, the stock-market system of Wall Street from the modern capitalistic type of economic organization and transpose it to the society of the Trobriand Islands? The answer is that as soon as this is done, the capitalistic system of economy here fails to function normally for lack of the stock market, while among the Trobrianders, Wall Street has no chance to exist or survive in the form in which it exists in the United States. This means that the stock market is essentially a functional part of the American economic system. Suppose we should take the parliamentary regime in its English form, together with the principle of contractual relations and of the equality of all citizens before the law, and the other democratic tenets of Victorian England, and "graft" them onto the Hindu caste-society. The results would be similar. The democratic politico-juridical complex can hardly be grafted on the caste-society tree and yet retain the same form it had; it would either die or be changed enormously. On the other hand, the remainder of the Victorian democratic socio-political system could hardly function as it did, lacking the aid of the severed parts of the complex. As a matter of fact, even in Continental European societies, where the configuration of cultural elements differs from that of England (though by less than does the Hindu), the parliamentary system has never functioned in the way in which it does in England. One has only to glance at the history of parliamentarism in Germany, Austria, Russia, or Italy to perceive the difference. The Gothic cathedral transplanted to the South Sea

²⁰ It is to be noted that in a unified mechanical system, like a machine, where one part may be replaced by another, for instance, one bolt by another, the replacement must be *identical* in form with the replaced part. If it deviates essentially it cannot be a substitute. In organic, psycho-social or functional cultural systems even such a replacement is ordinarily impossible, or extremely difficult; while in a purely spatial or even externally related combination the exchange of one part for another is ordinarily easy when the new part is very different from the old.

Islands would be an isolated monster there, devoid of its meaning as well as of its functions, though it was a necessary part of the medieval culture of the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. The full evening dress of our society would seem grotesque to a native of the Fiji Islands, and if introduced there, would lose its meaning and change its functions. The Civil Code of Napoleon or the English Common Law system could, of course, be imposed upon Chinese, Hindu or Siamese society, but the result would be a profound transformation of the meaning and functions of these systems or their failure, or, as in the case of the Fiji Islanders, the destruction of the native population.

In brief, complexes which represent a functional integration are always present in the totality of the traits, patterns, objects, and values of any culture area. A deep change in, or the disappearance of, one of the important components tends to modify the rest of the complex, while the component parts, if transplanted into a different configuration, either do not survive, are profoundly changed, or destroy the complex to which they are added.

There is no need to stress the fact that the degree of functional unity or functional interdependence is everywhere different. It fluctuates from unity to unity; in some cases it is exceedingly close, in others looser, until finally it passes imperceptibly into either a mere external unity or even a mere spatial adjacency.

In sociology and other social sciences there is a multitude of theories which attempt to describe and interpret culture generally along the lines of functional unity. Theories which try to "explain" all or the majority of the characteristics of a culture as "functions," "superstructures," or "effects" of a specific variable (whether it be modes of production, technique and invention, religion, morals, art and science, or philosophy and forms of government), assume the existence of a causal-functional integration between the parts. In other words their promulgators appear to be partisans of the view of the functional unity of all culture ele-

ments.²¹ Thus, when Karl Marx and other supporters of the economic interpretation of history attempt to explain all of culture as a mere superstructure of the economic factor, which changes as the economic situation changes, they assume that culture is a functional unity in which all the parts are hung upon the arc of economics, live one life with it, and change when it changes: property relations, social and political organization, art, religion, science, law, morals, and the whole class of ideologies.²² This is true of any other "main factor" theory,²³ whether religious, scientific, or otherwise. Like Marxism, it also assumes that culture is a functional unity and that, as soon as one discovers the leading factor through the study of its nature and changes, one is capable of understanding the entire culture and of forecasting the changes and fluctuations in any of its compartments. More than this, almost all of the contemporary social scientists assume that culture is a functional unity. Through experiments, through statistical correlations, through observation, through the comparative historical method, through "case studies," and through all the other possible methods, approaches, and techniques, they have been busy hunting for the causal-functional relationships, uniformities and laws which supposedly exist between two or more culture variables. If sometimes, to their regret, they do not find a high coefficient of correlation or some other patented guarantee of the existence of a functional relationship between various elements of culture, this means for most of them only that they started from a wrong end. It does not shake in any way their strong belief in the soundness of their theory.

In view of the virtual unanimity of opinion it is unnecessary to insist upon the existence of causal-functional integration as a form *sui generis*, but the application of the theory is to be somewhat modified. Not all

²¹ See the treatment of these ideas in my *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, especially the chapters devoted to the Sociologistic and Psychological Schools. As a matter of fact, the problem of the integration of culture, which some of the anthropologists have considered as only recently raised, has been since time immemorial one of the central problems of social science generally and sociology particularly.

²² *Ibid.*, chap. x.

²³ For all these theories see *ibid.*, *passim*.

the components of any culture are linked together causally. In any culture there are spatial and external unities where no causal association in the narrow sense can be found. And in many cultural complexes there are "logico-meaningful" unities, different from the causal-functional. Therefore it is fallacious to assume, as many causalists do, that every conglomeration of cultural objects is a functional unity and that there must be a functional connection between all of its components. Such an exaggerated belief in causal-functional integration is unwarranted and calls for sharp limitation.

Let us now turn from these considerations to the fourth form of integration with which we are to deal.

Logico-Meaningful Integration of Culture. Many integrators have also failed to see that above functional integration proper there is a form of association quite different from it, and more different still from the spatial and external types of unification. For lack of a better term, I style this the Logico-Meaningful Integration of Culture. This is integration in its supreme form. Of what does it consist? What are its qualities? Suppose we have before us the scattered pages of a great poem or of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* or fragments of the statue of Venus of Milo or the scattered pages of the score of Beethoven's "Third Symphony." If we know the proper patterns of meaning and value, we can put these pages or parts together into a significant unity in which all together give the supremely integrated effect that was intended. I say "supremely integrated" because in such instances each part, when set in its designated position, is no longer noticeable as a part, but all the parts together form, as it were, a seamless garment. Their unification is far closer than that of mere functional association. The connection is similar in nature to that between the premises, "All human beings are mortal," "Socrates is a human being," and the conclusion, "ergo, Socrates is mortal." Is this connection functional? Hardly; unless we broaden the significance of "functional" to such an extent that it loses distinct meaning altogether. To say that the chapters of Kant's *Critique*, or the head and the torso of Venus of Milo, or the

beginning and the end of the first movement of Mozart's "Concerto in D Minor," or the foundation, flying buttresses, towers and sculpture of the Cathedral of Chartres, or the first and the second parts of the *Iliad*—to say that the connection between these is functional or causal is to say something almost silly and, at the same time, to omit the higher nature of their unity.

Operationally, to use Professor Bridgemen's term, the procedure involved in this sort of integration is not unlike that of putting into logical order the numerous meaningless fragments of a jig-saw puzzle. The person attempting the solution has before him many variform pieces: triangles, squares, and others of strange and fanciful design all mixed together without significance. His task consists in putting them together in such a way as to make a meaningful unity—a dog, a cow, a castle, a man, a landscape, or some other comprehensible whole. The fitting together of these fragments is not an integration by mere spatial adjacency; they were already adjacent when they lay in a heap on the table. Nor is it an integration through some external factor; one could hang the fragments on a single thread, or put them into a box, or glue them upon a sheet of paper, or integrate them externally in many different ways. The result would still be a senseless conglomeration. Nor is the procedure of putting them together functional or causal. One could proceed as much as one liked according to the inductive method of observing identity or difference or concomitant changes, and still, as long as one failed to seek and find the unifying meaning, one would not arrive at the solution. As a matter of fact, no functional method is useful here. There is, strictly speaking, neither cause nor effect, neither variable nor function. None of the parts rules the others, causally or functionally. The whole apparatus of the causal-functional procedure is simply inapplicable to the problem.

What must be used are the logical laws of identity, contradiction, and consistency. It is these laws of logic which must be employed to discover whether any synthesis is or is not *logico-meaningful*. Side by side with such logical laws, in the narrow sense, the broader principles of

"keeping," and of internal consistency must also be used to determine the existence of this higher unity, or the lack of it. These are the principles expressed in the terms "consistent style," "consistent and harmonious whole," in contradistinction to "inconsistent mingling of styles," "hodge-podge," "clashing" patterns or forms, and they apply especially to the examination of artistic creation.²⁴ Many such superlative unities cannot be described in analytical verbal terms; they are only felt as such. But this in no way makes their unity questionable. One cannot prove by mere words—no matter what they are—the inner consistency and supreme integration of the Cathedral of Chartres or the "Gregorian Chant" or the musical compositions of Bach or Mozart or Beethoven or the tragedies of Shakespeare or the sculpture of Phidias, or the pictures of Dürer, Raphael, or Rembrandt, or many other logico-meaningful unities. Although incompletely describable in terms of language, their supreme unity is felt by competent persons as certainly as if they could be analyzed with mathematical or logical exactness.

All such unities are designated here by the term *logico-meaningful*, though many are not logical unities in the formal sense of the word logic.

A few concrete illustrations will make still clearer the nature of this sort of integration. Suppose we find side by side in some cultural conglomeration a highly developed ascetic-monastic life and a materialistic-sensate philosophy. At once we feel that the two are inconsistent;

²⁴ If the psychologists would say that such a sense or feeling of consistency and unity is a mere matter of association and the routine of perception, or is nothing but a conditioned response, my answer is simple: In most cases it is not such a simple phenomenon, but, granting for a moment that it is so, there still remains the fact that some creations like those of Phidias, or Bach, or Dante, or Homer have been felt for numbers of generations as "consistent unities," or "consistent associations," while millions of other sculptures, musical compositions or poems have never been considered so faultlessly unified but have been sensed as styleless, senseless, discordant, disjointed concoctions of forms, colors, words, or sounds. The difference between these two classes of "associations" still remains. Some associations are sensed as supreme unities, others as concoctions. Some chains of reasoning are "felt" as logical, others as inconsistent. This is what is important for my purposes. For the rest, I leave it to whosoever will to amuse himself "associationally," "reflexologically," "physiologically," "endocrinologically," "psycho-analytically," and in any other way he pleases, according to his sense or nonsense.

they do not belong together; they do not make any sense; their combination is not integrated in a logico-meaningful unity. This conclusion will remain valid no matter how frequently such a coexistence of these two variables is found. Asceticism and a purely idealistic philosophy of life on the contrary, do belong to one another logically. If we find together in a given cultural area the strictest caste system and the equalitarian ideology shared by all castes, it once again becomes evident that we are faced with inconsistency. These opposing elements, though they may form a spatial or some other form of congeries, cannot be integrated into a logico-meaningful unity. The case of the city, mentioned previously, with its conglomeration of Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque and "box" types, is a further example of inconsistency, illustrating the lack of the logical integration of architectural styles in a single area. Only if it is known that the planners of the city intended the styles to be as diverse as possible and so arranged them according to a definite principle of variety and diversity, only in such a case could the area in question pretend to some degree of logico-meaningful integration of low order. When in a house fitted with gas and electric appliances for boiling water one finds, say, a Russian *samovar* regularly used for that purpose, the logical incompatibility of the two elements of the configuration is evident. A society of multi-millionaires who are simultaneously sincere partisans of the sacred right of private property and of the Communist creed exhibits an utter lack of logico-meaningful integration of economic-cultural ideals. If we have a culture complex in which the main ethical mentality is hedonistic, while its influential literature is Holy Scripture and the Lives of the Saints, or vice versa, if we have a sexualistic literature predominant in a culture permeated with otherworldly, ascetic ideals and an absolutistic morality, we are once again confronted with the lack of logical integration.

So much, then, in a preliminary way, for the nature of logico-meaningful integration. In the next paper we shall go a little further in its analysis by comparing it directly with the causal-functional type of association of cultural elements.

The Rural Community in the United States as an Elementary Group

Dwight Sanderson

NEXT TO the family, the locality group is one of the most obvious elementary forms of social organization.¹ The village community has had many forms,² varying from a kinship group in a small hamlet to a place of several thousand persons where kinship no longer dominates. In all cases the village community consists of agriculturists living in a village and their interspersed land holdings. This village community has a definite boundary. It was primarily an economic group, but also became a political unit. In the United States the earliest colonies in New England and New York were of the village-community type, but most later settlements were made as dispersed farmsteads, with the villages growing up as business and social centers. A similar type of settlement has occurred in other new countries where land was cheap and there was reasonable security for the settlers. Under such conditions of dispersed settlement there was no rural community and what social organization there was centered in the open-country rural neighborhood, which was often a kinship settlement, or in the families of an open-country church or school. As villages grew, roads became better, and commercial rather than subsistence agriculture developed and necessitated marketing farm products, contacts of the farm people with the villages increased, and rural neighborhood life declined. The

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¹ This paper was read at the 12th Congr s de l'Institut International de Sociologie, Brussels, Aug. 26, 1935.

² The various types of locality groups have been well summarized by Professor Albert Demangeon, "La Geographie de l'habitat rural," *Annales de geographie*, XXXVI (1927), 1-23, 97-114, and have been described in my book *The Rural Community* (Boston, 1932).

village became the center not only of the economic but also the social life of the farm families within its radius of influence.

By mapping the areas within which farm families patronized a given village center for various purposes, such as purchase of household supplies, marketing farm products, attending church or school, use of the library, or the services of a physician, Dr. C. J. Galpin³ was able to show that a composite area might be delimited. Such an area he termed the "rurban community," consisting of the village business and social center and the area within which most of the farm families used this center for most of their social and economic activities. Subsequent studies⁴ of other areas have shown that this type of organization is fairly typical of most of the northeastern United States, and that its development has been accelerated by automobiles and good roads. In many parts of the South and West, rural social organization is still largely in the neighborhood stage, although the same type of rural community as described by Galpin is developing. It is evident that this type of rural community, which I have termed the *modern rural community*, does not have the precise boundaries of the village community, as it has no political or economic entity.

Without attempting any further analysis of this new type of rural community, which has been done at length in the works cited, the essential description of the concept of this group type may be summarized in the definition: "A rural community consists of the social interaction of the people and their institutions in a local area in which they live on dispersed farmsteads and in a hamlet or village which forms the center of their common activities."⁵ It might be added that such a rural community is delimited by a line within which there is more interaction between the residents in their common village center than with those outside this boundary.

³ C. J. Galpin, "The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community," *Research Bulletin No. 34*, University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, Madison, 1915.

⁴ See bibliography in my *The Rural Community*, p. 492, and in my "Rural Social and Economic Areas in Central New York," *Bulletin No. 641*, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, 1934.

⁵ *The Rural Community*, p. 481.

That there are definite socio-economic areas tributary to the village centers has been definitely shown by numerous studies. The question arises, however, whether these are merely areas of human geography or whether there is a sufficient interaction between the inhabitants of these areas to warrant calling them rural communities in the sense of being sociological groups. Does their geographical contiguity and interaction at the village center result in a pattern of collective behavior such as we attribute to a group, or is there merely an overlapping of various groups within a common area? Evidently, this is partly a matter of definition and partly a matter of fact.

In *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*⁶ Dr. Sorokin has distinguished two main types of social structure, the elementary and cumulative groups. Elementary groups are those with but one bond of association, and are termed functional associations. Cumulative groups have two or more bonds of association, and are of various degrees of complexity, depending upon the number of these ties. Professor Sorokin lists some fourteen ties or bonds which have been most important in such cumulative groups, but it should be noted that he mentions those which have been characteristic of the village community, some of which are not necessarily applicable to contemporary conditions in the United States. He cites "the many ancient rural groups which kept their clan organization when they settled on the land," as typical of the cumulative group. The functional association "is represented by the contemporary farm population in many regions of the United States of America and in some other countries." He then shows how very many of the bonds which were characteristic of the ancient village community have disappeared. By means of ingenious diagrams he shows that American farmers belong to various associations or interest groups which may overlap, but there is no cumulative community among them, because they do not all belong to the same groups. He concludes:

⁶ Pitirim A. Sorokin, Carle C. Zimmerman, and Charles J. Galpin, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* (Minneapolis, 1930), I, chap. vi, "Differentiation of the Rural Population into Cumulative Communities and Functional Associations."

In spite of some disagreement (perhaps mostly in terminology) in the conclusions of American investigators in the field, practically all of the studies give very clear evidence either of the non-existence or the very slight existence only of rural cumulative groups (in the above meaning of the phrase) in the rural population studied.⁷

Referring to the original study by Dr. Galpin, which he misinterprets with regard to those dwelling outside the village centers, he says:

Such grouping in itself is an indication of a rather special but not a cumulative type. Furthermore, his maps of various groupings of the population along the trade, banking, school, church, and other centers do not coincide with one another, or coincide only to a slight extent. This indicates that, even in the sense of the "rurban areas," the groupings of the farm population are cumulative only to some degree and are divergent or special to a considerable degree.⁸

This would imply that if it could be shown that there is a considerable coincidence of these area boundaries, the area which they have in common might be considered as a cumulative community.

It is, of course, quite obvious that any type of rural community with dispersed farmsteads could not have the geographical unity of the village community, which had definite economic and political boundaries, and that many of the bonds which characterized the village community, such as that of common land, would necessarily be absent. It should be noted, however, that new bonds, such as the school, marketing organizations, and recreation may arise. Any type of cumulative community with dispersed farmsteads would necessarily be radically different from the village community in its structure and in the ties or bonds that might make it a true group. It is evident from the statements of Dr. Sorokin that the question of whether or not such a community might be considered as cumulative is one of degree, for it would be practically impossible for it to have the assumed unity of the ancient village community. The question is whether within a certain area the farm and village families have more common association than with various groups outside this area. Had Professor Sorokin diagrammed the facts mapped by Dr. Galpin and others to illustrate the areas of common association,

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 329.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 329.

rather than attempting to show that they did not all have the same bonds of association as assumed for the village community,⁹ he would have found that within a certain area the common association was predominant.

However, it is true that in most of the studies which have mapped the rural socio-economic areas in the United States there was little quantitative evidence of the extent to which the families within the common area actually associated more at the village center than elsewhere. In order to obtain the facts concerning the degree of common association at the village centers, studies have been made of several counties in central New York¹⁰ in which the place at which each farm family secured a specified list of social and economic services was ascertained from the families. The replies were then mapped and statistically analyzed to determine what proportion patronized the local village. A definite technique was developed for delimiting the area within which a majority of the farm families obtained most of the more common services at the local village, and for determining the percentage of these services which all of the farm families within this area obtained at the village center or elsewhere. Such centers were termed primary centers, and the areas so determined were called primary areas. It has been shown that the proportion of all the farm families in a primary area, which obtain most of their services from the primary center varies with the population of the village center. For villages of from 50 to 249 inhabitants, only 27 per cent of all services were obtained locally; for villages of 250 to 499 inhabitants, 45 per cent; for villages of over 500 inhabitants, from 60 to 65 per cent of all services were obtained at the local village; and in the areas of larger towns and cities, the percentages rose to 70 and 80 respectively. This was based on a study of

⁹ In this connection it should be noted that the entire unity of association within the village community is an assumption to which there are numerous exceptions. Thus caste divides the village communities of India, and in many cases village communities are divided into geographically distinct sib groupings, *septs*, *khels*, the *calpolli-barrio* of Mexican villages, etc.

¹⁰ Cf. Dwight Sanderson, "Rural Social and Economic Areas in Central New York," *Bulletin No. 614*, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, 1934.

121 primary areas in four counties, involving 5,132 farm families, so that the sample is adequate for the territory studied. The above percentages are for all services, wherever obtained. Many of these services did not exist at the smaller village centers and the inhabitants of their primary areas were forced to go to larger centers to obtain them, this being particularly true of economic services, such as banking and the purchase of good clothing, but also being true of social services, such as high schools. When the percentages of services obtained locally were restricted to those which might be obtained at the local village centers, then for all village primary areas the percentage was 64, rising to 72 for the villages of from 1,000 to 2,499 inhabitants. The percentages were higher for the social than for the economic services.

Time does not permit any further statement of the details of this study, but it is believed that it establishes the following conclusion:

Within the areas thus defined the open-country families associate at the area center more than at any other place and obtain the majority of the services furnished by social and economic institutions. For this reason such areas are commonly called rural communities; they are areas of interrelated common interests.¹¹

It should also be observed that increasingly rural people in many parts of the United States have themselves recognized this common association within the area tributary to a village center, and have various forms of community associations, quite apart from any political areas. In the organization of central rural school districts this principle of the rural community area has been used for defining the boundaries of these units of local public school administration.

It is certain that there is no one type of rural community which is characteristic of the United States as a whole. Indeed, it is quite evident from our data that there are definite functional differences in the village center of the rural community which vary with its population and the specialization of services which it affords. However, the general pattern of relationships is similar, whatever the size of the village center. The

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 90.

degree of association within the community area varies widely, and the mere measurement of the quantity of association gives us no more indication of the solidarity of the rural community than of any other group.

The boundaries of this type of rural community are only approximate and will change, in time, according to the attractiveness of the various forms of association at the village center. With the general use of the automobile, the present trend is toward the weakening of the smaller community centers and their gradual absorption into the community areas of larger villages, in which they will form definite rural neighborhoods. The larger rural community inevitably becomes less personal and is more largely a composite of its various functional associations, but the institutions which are common to most of the people within its area give it a type of common behavior characteristic of a group, however defined. The difference of occupation between farmers and villagers does not prevent their having many common interests and forms of association. The increasing number of non-farm families living in the open country, especially where these families are employed in towns or cities, undoubtedly weakens the solidarity of the rural community, but our studies go to show that they are gradually assimilated into the local community life and that they have more associations there than elsewhere.¹²

In some parts of the United States, the rural community as defined is already recognized as the basis of rural social organization. In far more places it is still in the process of becoming, but in view of the comparatively recent settlement this is to be expected, for the definite development of the rural community as such depends upon the gradual recognition by its people of their common interests.

Types of rural communities change with the techniques of agriculture and with the environmental conditions, but some form of rural community seems essential for any permanent social organization of rural

¹² Cf. Leland B. Tate, "Rural Homes for City Workers," *Bulletin No. 595*, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, 1934.

life, and must, therefore, be regarded as an elementary form of rural social life. The vocation of agriculture necessarily attaches farmers to the land and for success requires a relatively permanent residence which makes inevitable an acquaintance and the development of common interests within a local area. In all localities there are certain features of the physical environment which, to a greater or less extent, limit the areas within which human association is frequent and intimate. The rural community is still bound together for purposes of defense, not from military attack, but for maintaining its economic interests against those of the city market, and to give it a satisfying social life which may compete with the lure of the city. The division of labor incident to advances in material culture gives rise to certain services desired by farmers which may be profitably maintained only at the centers of areas which can afford a sufficient volume of patronage, and which thereby create areas of common association. The desire of people for sociability also forms a bond of the rural community, for, even with automobiles, association is easiest and therefore most frequent at the community center and people tend to associate with those with whom they are best acquainted in the local areas. The modern community house is a new social center which takes the place of the men's house of the primitive village. For these reasons the rural community is the most important group for social control. Most rural people are more susceptible to the public opinion of their own community than to that of the outside world, and even though social control is largely through voluntary associations, these associations react to other associations and groups within the community and find that the common welfare commands a community loyalty superior to that for any special interest group. Thus the rural community is the area within which the common interests of the daily life of its people may find expression in institutions and associations which tend to center at the village where they are most accessible. So long as agriculture is a family occupation and is not organized as a strictly factory system, it seems probable that some form of rural community will be the inevitable basis of rural social organization. The type which has been described for the United States is evolving to meet

the conditions of rural life in a rapidly changing environment. The determination of the type of rural community structure which, with due consideration to existing and historical conditions, will be most satisfactory for rural social organization forms one of the major problems of rural reconstruction facing many countries today.

Rural Young People Face Their Own Situation

E. L. Kirkpatrick and Agnes M. Boynton

MUCH IS SAID today about surplus crop production and the millions of acres of submarginal farm land not needed for agriculture. Naturally, these problems are very real, but a much more important one from the standpoint of the nation is the necessity of finding economic opportunities and social advantages for young men and women. Those who live in rural areas are unable to secure good farms and are thwarted on nearly every side when they attempt to find alternative avenues in which to pour their energies and ambitions.

What can be done to improve their situation? What is known about these rural young people? Where do they live? What are they doing? How much schooling have they had? What choices of occupations do they have? To what extent does farming appeal to them? How are they using their spare time? To what degree do they sense needs in the home community? And what opportunities do they see to improve local conditions?

To answer these and similar questions, a survey was planned and recently carried out in Waushara County, Wisconsin, under the direction of a local committee representing three educational agencies together with the young people themselves. A total of 2,123 schedules were filled out by rural young people between the ages of 15 and 29, two-thirds of whom reside on farms, the rest living in villages of less than 2,500 population.¹

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¹ The first lot of schedules (250) was obtained by rural school teachers. The others were gathered in a house-to-house canvass by local workers selected from the relief rolls.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RURAL YOUNG PEOPLE

At least a partial answer to the question of what is known about these young people is evident from an analysis of certain population characteristics. Among them are age composition, marital status, nationality patterns, and educational attainment.

The study revealed that relatively more of the young people are in the lower age groups; the proportions of the total range from 11 per cent at 15 years to three per cent at 29. By five-year periods, slightly less than one-half of them are between 15 and 19 years of age; 31 per cent are 20-24; and 19.5 per cent are 25-29. Males are slightly older than females, or at any rate, more of the latter are in the younger classification.

Only one-fifth of all these young persons are married, the proportion being almost twice as high for females as for males and slightly higher for villagers than for farmers. As would be expected, the marriage-rate increases with advancing age. Of the 440 who are married, approximately three-fourths have children, the average number reported by them being 1.6; 1.7 for the farm, and 1.5 for the village group.

The nationality of these young people is of interest. The nearest approach to identity is found in the answers to the question, "What languages, other than English, are spoken in your family?" For 800 responses which are regarded as representative of the whole, German is prevalent in 58 per cent of the homes; Polish, Italian, Norwegian, Danish, Welsh, Swedish, and Finnish are used less frequently, the proportions varying from 17 per cent down to less than one per cent of the total.

Of these rural young people, approximately one-fourth are in schools. This number includes more than 50 per cent of the total 15-19 years

Approximately 66 per cent of the total farm and 72 per cent of the village youth (based on the 1930 census) were reached. The information was tabulated by the local workers who had taken the schedules, under the direction of the Department of Rural Sociology, Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station. Other young people's studies using a similar schedule were carried on in Douglas and Wood counties, and more limited investigations were made in Taylor and Dodge counties, and Mt. Hope and Lancaster communities, Grant County, Wisconsin.

of age, less than two per cent of those 20-24, and none of those aged 25-29 (Table I). Larger proportions of the villagers than farmers attend. Among the farm young people, girls go to school more frequently than boys. For the entire group, almost one-third have had four years of high school, the proportion being more than twice as high in the village as on the farm. In the latter group twice as many girls as boys finish, while in the village only slightly more girls than boys complete high school. Less than five per cent of all the young people are attending or have attended a university or college, including teachers' colleges.

Since almost 75 per cent of the young people are not in school at the present time, replies to the question, "If out of school, check reasons for not going further," are important. They indicate that 35 per cent of those who responded are "not financially able," 27 per cent are "needed at home," 25 per cent have "no desire to go," 15 per cent "secured a job," and eight per cent "got married." Farm residents designated financial reasons and "got married" less frequently than did villagers, but the reverse is true with respect to "needed at home" and "no desire to go." Among farm boys and girls, fewer of the latter are needed at home, more "got married," and about the same proportion indicate lack of finances, no desire, or securing a job as reasons for not going further. In the village, more of the boys are financially handicapped or have no desire to go, while appreciably more of the girls got married.

ECONOMIC AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Two-thirds of the young people who live on farms, and a slightly smaller proportion of those who reside in villages, belong to families who own their homes. Since proportionately more of the younger persons are members of such families, it is probable that the older age groups contain more young married couples who have not been able to attain the status of ownership.

The proportion of financially independent young people is noticeably higher among males than females. Among the young people from the

TABLE I
EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF RURAL YOUNG PEOPLE, 15-29
 Waushara County, Wisconsin

	FARM AND VILLAGE						FARM						VILLAGE					
	Total			Male			Female			Total			Male			Female		
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
	2105	100.0	1164	100.0	941	100.0	1361	100.0	764	100.0	597	100.0	744	100.0	400	100.0	344	100.0
Grade in School.....	1	.1	1	.1	.....	.....	1	.1	1	.1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total Number of Replies.....	2	.1	.....	.....	2	.2	2	.1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
First.....	5	.2	1	.1	4	.4	4	.3	1	.1	3	.5	1	.1	.....	.....	1	.3
Second.....	11	.5	6	.5	5	.5	9	.7	5	.7	4	.7	2	.3	1	.3	1	.3
Third.....	9	.3	8	.7	1	.1	7	.5	6	.8	1	.2	2	.3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Fourth.....	47	3.1	35	3.0	12	1.3	32	2.4	22	2.9	10	1.7	15	2.0	13	3.2	2	.6
Fifth.....	122	5.7	87	7.5	35	3.7	102	7.5	69	9.0	33	5.5	20	2.7	18	4.5	2	.6
Sixth.....	645	30.5	392	33.7	253	26.9	547	40.1	335	43.9	212	35.5	98	13.2	57	14.2	41	11.9
Seventh.....																		
Eighth.....																		
First Year H. S.....	161	7.5	94	8.1	67	7.1	110	8.1	63	8.2	47	7.9	51	6.8	31	7.7	20	5.8
Second Year H. S.....	200	9.4	122	10.5	78	8.3	118	8.7	70	9.2	48	8.0	82	11.0	52	13.0	30	8.7
Third Year H. S.....	213	10.0	108	9.3	105	11.2	109	8.0	59	7.7	50	8.4	104	14.0	49	12.3	55	16.0
Fourth Year H. S.....	689	32.6	310	26.5	379	40.3	320	23.5	133	17.4	187	31.3	369	49.6	177	44.3	192	55.8
County Normal.....	131	6.2	28	2.4	103	10.9	74	5.4	15	2.0	59	10.0	57	7.7	13	3.3	44	12.8
Teachers College.....	60	2.9	20	1.7	40	4.3	18	1.3	5	.7	13	2.2	42	5.6	15	3.8	27	7.8
Vocational.....	44	2.1	29	2.5	15	1.6	21	1.5	13	1.7	8	1.3	23	3.1	16	4.0	12	3.5
College or University.....	39	1.9	24	2.1	15	1.6	8	.6	5	.7	3	.5	31	4.2	19	4.8	17	5.0
Business College.....	38	1.8	12	1.0	26	2.8	19	1.4	6	.8	13	2.2	19	2.6	6	1.5	13	3.8
Short Course Ag.....	6	.3	5	.4	1	.....	5	.4	5	.7	.....	.....	1	.1	.....	.....	1	.5
Miscellaneous.....	22	1.0	10	.9	12	1.3	10	.7	3	.4	7	1.2	12	1.6	7	1.8	5	1.5

At the time of the survey 25.9 per cent of the total number of young people were attending school; 22.1 per cent of those on the farm and 32.8 per cent of those in the village. By sex and residence classifications 19.0 per cent of farm boys, 31.6 per cent of village boys, 25.9 per cent of farm girls, and 34.2 per cent of village girls aged 15-29 years, were attending school.

farm, the proportion increases with advancing age from 15.5 per cent at 15-19 years to 65 per cent at 25-29; among young people from the villages the corresponding increase was from nine to 52 per cent. Twice as many boys as girls are employed, and persons in the oldest group (25-29) are employed twice as often as those in the youngest group (15-19).

Approximately one-fifth of the total gave their occupations, of whom 25 per cent are farm workers, 16 per cent teachers, 12 per cent clerical workers, nine per cent houseworkers, five per cent laborers, five per cent truckers, and the remainder are holding jobs of many varieties. Proportionately more villagers than farmers are doing clerical work, common labor, and garage work. With respect to previous occupation, two-fifths of the informants have followed farming; one-sixth housework; six per cent each, laborer, clerk, and truck driver; five per cent each, teacher and clerical worker; four per cent trucker and garage men; three per cent quarrier; and 26 per cent other unclassified occupations. Village young people had worked as laborers, clerks, teachers, clerics, and quarrymen more frequently than had those living on farms.

Out of fifteen hundred of the young people who report working at home, less than 10 per cent receive wages, the proportion being two times as high for males as females. On farms, those receiving wages for employment at home increases from five per cent for the 15-19 age group to 17.5 per cent for the 25-29 age group.

Of those having no jobs, more than half state they were "unable to find work," two-fifths "still in school," and one-tenth "needed at home," (Table II). The proportion of the total number unable to find work increases noticeably with advancing age from 40 per cent at 15-19 to 90 per cent at 25-29 years for farm, and from 22 to 67 per cent for village residents of corresponding ages.

During the last three years much emphasis has been placed on overcoming the unemployment situation by furnishing temporary work opportunities at public expense. However, only one in four of the

TABLE II
REASONS FOR UNEMPLOYMENT OF RURAL YOUNG PEOPLE, 15-29
Waushara County, Wisconsin

Reason	Farm and Village		Farm		Village	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Total number of replies.....	1407	....	902	....	505	....
Unable to find work.....	741	52.7	518	57.4	223	44.2
Still in school.....	522	37.1	289	32.0	233	46.1
Needed at home.....	138	9.8	87	9.6	51	10.1
Physically unable.....	21	1.5	17	1.7	4	.8
Total replies from males.....	753	....	486	....	267	....
Unable to find work.....	474	62.9	322	66.3	152	56.9
Still in school.....	254	33.7	138	28.4	116	43.4
Needed at home.....	28	3.7	26	5.3	2	.7
Physically unable.....	7	.9	6	1.2	1	.4
Total replies from females.....	654	....	416	....	238	....
Unable to find work.....	267	40.8	196	47.1	71	29.8
Still in school.....	268	41.0	151	36.3	117	49.2
Needed at home.....	110	16.8	61	14.7	49	20.6
Physically unable.....	14	2.1	11	2.6	3	1.3

1,745 who responded to the question concerning such employment have had work with the Civil Works Administration or the Federal and State Work Relief Programs. The percentage for males is markedly higher than that for females, and likewise higher for the oldest than the youngest age group. Villagers held these Relief jobs a little more frequently than did farmers.

Three-fourths of the young people estimated the amount of money they earned last year. It amounted to an average of \$101 per person, with villagers earning more than farmers. The average amount rises from \$29 at 15-19 years to \$220 at 25-29 years of age. In the youngest and oldest groups, farm boys earn more than girls and for the 20-24 year group the earnings are about the same. Because earnings are limited, and because some of the young people are not earning at all, one-half of all of them depend on their parents for spending money;

the proportion doing so is slightly lower for males than for females, but higher for farm than for village youths.

Less than three in ten of the entire group carry life insurance, the proportion being noticeably higher for males than females. It increases with age from 14 per cent at 15-19 years to 30 per cent at 25-29 for farm, and from 31 per cent at 15-19 to 48 per cent at 25-29 for village residents.

FAMILY LIVING FACILITIES

The informants were asked to report on the important family living equipment and facilities which they have in their homes. They listed or checked those items most commonly included under modern home conveniences, communication facilities, musical equipment, and reading materials.

Two in five of all the homes are equipped with electric lights, one in six with furnaces, and one in ten with piped-in water. Proportionately more of the village than of the farm households have these conveniences and the difference is particularly marked in the case of electric lights. One in three homes has at least one electrical appliance, and this proportion is five times as high for village as for farm residents.

More than four in five of the young people have access to an automobile, one in four to a telephone, and three in five to a radio. Automobiles are available more frequently on farms than in the village, but the reverse is true of radios. Phonographs and pianos are found in more than two in five of the homes and organs in only one in five. Villagers have pianos more frequently than farm people, but the opposite is true for phonographs and organs.

USE OF LEISURE

Leisure time is spent in various ways by these young people. Nine in ten of the entire group read newspapers, the proportion doing so being the same for both sexes. Next in rank among the activities reported are reading magazines and books, going to movies, listening

to radio programs, playing cards, attending public dances, taking part in games and athletics, and going to private dances. Proportionately more girls than boys read magazines and books, go to movies, listen to radios, and attend dances; fewer play cards and attend or participate in games and athletics. More than 60 per cent of the young people go to the movies, and the times attended average 22 per person per year. Village residents go more frequently than farmers, and girls and boys go with about the same frequency regardless of whether they live on farms or in villages.

Due to the fact that much is derived from reading, it is of interest to note the type of materials chosen by rural young people. The kinds of books they prefer are classed as fiction and non-fiction, with the former having the greater appeal. Proportionately more farm than village young persons choose fiction; the reverse holds for non-fiction. General magazines lead all others, with three in five of the young people naming them. Women's magazines are next in order, followed by farm journals. Almost six in ten of the 1,500 persons who reported reading newspapers look at the "news." Two in five prefer the comics, one in five sports, and one in fifteen each, feature pages and editorials. Villagers read the different parts named slightly more frequently than farmers. Girls read the sport page less often and the features more than boys; otherwise the reading habits of the sexes are similar.

Music takes preference in "type of radio program liked best," with drama next, followed by news, sports, and lectures. Preference for all these types was checked more frequently by village than farm young people, due in part, no doubt, to the greater opportunity to listen to programs. Proportionately more girls than boys prefer music and drama in radio programs, fewer spend time listening to news and sports, and about the same proportion tune in on lectures.

In regard to hobbies, fishing and hunting are most popular with two in five enjoying or preferring each. Next in order are instrumental music, baseball, cooking, sewing, camping, basketball, vocal music, handicrafts, dramatics, drawing, collecting, public speaking, photogra-

phy, and painting. Boys enjoy fishing, hunting, baseball, basketball and camping more frequently than girls and the opposite applies to vocal and instrumental music, cooking, sewing, dramatics, drawing, collecting, photography, and painting. Compared with farm, village residents chose camping, basketball, dramatics, drawing, collecting, public speaking, and photography the more frequently.

In the field of sports and athletics, baseball appeals most, with swimming next, followed by basketball, skating, softball, tennis, football, and volley ball. Farm and village young people differ in their preferences of games and sports; proportionately less of the latter play baseball and more swim, skate, and play basketball, softball, and tennis. More farm boys than girls desire all of the sports named except skating, softball, tennis, and volley ball; this applies likewise to village young people with the additional exception of swimming.

It is often during spare time or in leisure activities that young people meet each other. The most common opportunity is "through friends," with more than nine in ten of the informants so indicating it. Next in importance is "at home" followed by "at dances," "attending church activities," "in school," and "at club meetings." Compared with farm young people, village youths have slightly better opportunity to meet others through friends, at dances, and at school, but less at church and club meetings.

PARTICIPATION IN ORGANIZATIONS

Organizational activities play an important role in the life of the individual and the community. It is encouraging, therefore, to know that three-fifths of all the young people reported attendance at local club meetings, including church and Sunday School services, with village young people attending slightly more than farm youths, and girls noticeably more than boys. One-fourth attend Community Club meetings (including 4-H clubs), with villagers attending less frequently than the others, and girls slightly less often than boys. Only five per cent attend school clubs, and less than two per cent fraternal group meetings; village residents attend twice as frequently as farm residents.

Nearly 50 per cent of all the young people are members of the Church or its organizations. The membership rate is slightly higher among village than among farm residents and noticeably higher among girls than boys. Almost five per cent belong to school groups, with a higher membership among villagers than farmers, and among girls than boys. One-fifth of the young people belong to Community clubs, with farmers exceeding villagers and males exceeding females. Since 4-H clubs are included in this classification, it is pertinent to consider the extent to which these young people have participated in them. To the inquiry, "Have you ever been a 4-H club member?" one-fourth responded in the affirmative. This proportion was higher for boys than for girls. The 400 who reported length of time in club work were active for an average of 2.5 years.

More than one-half of the group answered "yes" to the question, "Are there organizations in the community that have programs of interest to those of your age?" This response was noticeably higher for the farm residents but not widely different for male and female in either group.

Asked to indicate the type of program they liked best, three in five named entertainment, two in five social, one in five educational, and one in seven recreational, with farm exceeding in entertainment and social, and village in educational. Girls desire entertainment and social programs oftener than boys, but the reverse applies to recreational activities.

Those who indicated club programs as opportunity for meeting other young people listed also the names of these clubs: two in five Community Club, one in four Grange, one in seven 4-H, and one in eight Church. Proportionately more farm young people met others at Community Club, Grange, and 4-H, than did those of the village.

NEEDS AND DESIRES EXPRESSED BY YOUNG PEOPLE

Practically four-fifths of the informants responded to the question regarding the principal needs of young people in their home com-

munity. One-half of them specified employment, one-fourth buildings for community meetings, one-fifth each, better organizations and recreation, one-sixth advancement, one-seventh libraries, and one-tenth each, money and entertainment (Table III). Compared with farm, village residents referred less frequently to employment, advancement, money, and entertainment, but more frequently to buildings, recreation, and libraries as needs. Girls designated less often than boys the need for work and finances, but more often the need for organizations, libraries, and entertainment.

Almost 500 of the young people made suggestions for community improvement, with one in four naming coöperation, one in five each, new organization programs and more club members, one in six a place to meet, and one in seven "nothing." Compared with boys, farm girls see greater needs for new programs and places to meet. This applies to village girls and boys with respect to new programs.

Indications on a "desired occupation" check list show that 17 per cent of the young people prefer farming; 12 per cent teaching and homemaking; 11 per cent trucking; 10 per cent mechanics; nine per cent each forestry, stenography, and clerical work; seven per cent nursing; six per cent beauty culture; five per cent aviation; and less than five per cent each of all other occupations. The girls' preferences run to teaching, homemaking, stenography, clerical work, nursing, and beauty culture. The choices of young people in villages run to mechanics, stenography, forest service, clerical work, and nursing. Only a few village young people prefer to farm.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SURVEY

"Something to do" seems to be the greatest need of rural young people according to these findings. Not only work opportunities but recreation, involving community buildings and organizations, rank high among the desires which are enumerated. Entertainments such as movies, plays, socials, advancement, libraries, and music are mentioned frequently. Education, including better schools, enlarged curricula,

TABLE III
PRINCIPAL PRESENT NEEDS OF RURAL YOUNG PEOPLE, 15-29
Waushara County, Wisconsin

[illegible]

evening classes and leadership training, are not overlooked in the comments from these young people. Other suggestions are a feeling of coöperation and interest, not only among young people themselves but also between young and old.

The results here presented are suggestive of what might come from similar studies in other communities. Although different conclusions would be expected in some respects, due to different conditions, doubtless these are typical of many rural situations. Locally the findings are being used to stimulate discussion and arouse further interest; eventually they will become the basis of definite steps toward improvement throughout the county. They may serve as suggestions for program procedures in other communities.

Even though these results are preliminary, they indicate that young people recognize their situation and are aware of certain needs in their immediate localities. They show that young men and women are actually thinking of possible developments and indicate that they are rapidly becoming more eager to work out definite programs for the realization of specific objectives.

The Annual Rate of Departure of Rural Youths from Their Parental Homes

C. Horace Hamilton

THE DEPARTURE of a rural youth from his parental home is an event of considerable social significance.¹ As much as birth or death, it marks the end of one generation and the beginning of another. It involves the breaking up of old and the formation of new family units. It means for the youth "getting a job," "starting out for himself," the beginning of a career, individual freedom, an expanding and maturing personality, and, finally, citizenship and participation in a larger social and economic world. There is, of course, a constant stream of youths departing from their parental homes. It is a normal and more or less inevitable process, as most young people leave their parental homes before the death of their parents.

The rate at which young people leave their homes varies with certain social and economic factors such as farm income, opportunity for non-farm or urban employment, social status of the youth's parents, sex, race, education, and family composition. The purpose of this paper is twofold: (1) to describe and evaluate a method of measuring the exact rate at which young people leave their parental homes, and (2) to present some preliminary results from the application of the method to a study of 1,703 rural families in five North Carolina counties.

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A NOTE ON METHOD

The rate at which young people permanently leave their parental homes² may be defined by the following formula:

$$R_x = \frac{d}{p} \times 100$$

in which R designates the rate of departure during a given year; x, the specific age, sex, or other group to which the formula is applied; p, the population in the given group at home at the beginning of the given year; and d, the number of those *at home* who left home during the given year.

The basic data needed for the calculation of the departure-rates are: (1) year of birth or age, and (2) year of departure or age at time of departing. If rates are desired for specific sex, color, relief, or educational groups, additional data may be collected on these points. The principal table needed for calculating the departure-rates is quite simple. It is merely a tabulation of the age and year of departure of all offspring in the families studied. Mechanical tabulation greatly facilitates the preparation of this table. Table I illustrates the form of the data as they come from the tabulation machine, with one or two columns added for clarification.

In Table I, column 5 shows the number of persons leaving home each year; whereas, column 6 shows the number at home at the beginning of each year. If sufficient data were available, reliable rates of departure could be calculated directly from tables similar to Table I; but, except in very extensive studies, this will rarely be the case. In our North Carolina study, tables such as the above were combined for a fifteen-year age group, namely, from 15 to 29 years of age at last birthday. In column 4 of Table I, the entries are for year of departure with the exception of the number 37, which indicates the persons who

² Any son or daughter who left home for any purpose and lived away from the parental home more than fifty per cent of the time, and who was away when the home was visited, is considered, for the purposes of the paper, a *departed person*. In case of two or more departures by the same person, the latest date of departure was used.

TABLE I
MACHINE TABULATION SHEET, SHOWING DATA ON DEPARTURES OF
WHITE MALES 22 YEARS OF AGE IN 1934.

Sex Code*	Year-of-Birth Code*	Age in Year of Departure	Year-of-Departure Code*	Card Count or Frequency	Cumulative Frequency
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1	12	..	37†	39†	39†
1	12	22	34	8	47
1	12	21	33	7	54
1	12	20	32	6	60
1	12	19	31	2	62
1	12	18	30	4	66
1	12	17	29	1	67
1	12	16	28	3	70

* Codes: White male=1; 1912=12; 1934=34; at home=37.

† Persons who were still at home at time of survey and who had been at home in previous years.

were still at home at the time of the survey and who had been at home in previous years. It will be noted, therefore, that in Table I, the 39 persons who were still at home are also included in denominator of the formula in each previous year, as shown in column 6. Table II, which is referred to in the following section, consists of a large number of tables similar to Table I, as will be evident by careful inspection.

EFFECT OF USING BROAD AGE GROUPS

The effect of using a fifteen-year age group in the calculation of reliable departure-rates was found to be negligible. Table II, for instance, shows the calculation of the annual departure-rates by years from 1915 to 1934. Columns 4 and 5 of this table give the crude and adjusted rates. Column 6 presents the *standard errors* of the crude rates.³ The adjusted rates are merely weighted averages of specific departure by single years of age, the weight being the sum of the

³ Calculated by the formula:
$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{R(100-R)}{N}}$$

TABLE II
NUMBER OF YOUNG PEOPLE, 15-29 YEARS OF AGE, AT HOME, AND NUMBER
AND PERCENTAGE LEAVING HOME EACH YEAR FROM 1915 TO 1934.

Year (1)	Number at Home on January 1 Each Year (2)	Number Leaving Home During Each Year (3)	Rates of Departure		Standard Errors of Crude Rates (6)
			Crude (4)	Adjusted* (5)	
All Years	20,568	1685	8.2	8.2	.2
1934	1643	184	11.2	10.5	.8
1933	1604	131	8.2	7.6	.7
1932	1531	106	6.9	6.8	.6
1931	1453	92	6.3	6.3	.6
1930	1404	146	10.4	10.3	.8
1929	1313	92	7.0	6.9	.7
1928	1235	102	8.3	8.4	.8
1927	1169	89	7.6	7.7	.8
1926	1090	101	9.3	9.4	.9
1925	1031	85	8.2	8.6	.9
1924	986	102	10.3	10.9	1.0
1923	892	61	6.8	7.0	.8
1922	853	73	8.6	9.3	1.0
1921	774	49	6.3	6.5	.9
1920	747	80	10.7	10.9	1.1
1919	674	44	6.5	6.9	1.0
1918	626	51	8.1	8.0	1.1
1917	559	31	5.5	5.2	1.0
1916	509	40	7.9	8.1	1.2
1915	475	26	5.5	5.5	1.0

* Adjusted to the average age distribution, by single years, for the twenty-year period, 1915 to 1934.

number in each one-year age group at home during the entire period. The differences between the adjusted and the crude rates, it may be observed, are much smaller than the standard errors of sampling. It may be concluded, therefore, that the adjustment for age within the 15-29 age group was unnecessary. This is a very important point. It not only saves an enormous amount of work in calculating specific and adjusted rates, but it also means that there is little systematic error or secular trend in the rates, due to a systematic error or trend in the profile

of the age distribution of the sample. The use of a broad age group, furthermore, permits a breakdown of the data by sex, color, tenure, or relief status without great loss in reliability.

USE OF THE MOVING AVERAGE

In the breakdown of departure-rate data by sex, color, etc., standard errors of the rates for sub-groups by single years increase. That is, the variation in the rates due to "chance" or "random sampling" increases as the number of cases decreases. Since standard errors are proportional

TABLE III
MEAN RATES OF DEPARTURE BY AGE AND SEX FOR PERIOD 1915-1934,
SHOWING ALSO RESIDUAL POPULATION AT HOME BY AGE AND SEX.

Age at Last Birthday	Sum of Population at Home 1915-1934		Sum of Departures 1915-1934		Rates of Departure		Residual Population at Home at the End of Each Year*	
(1)	Male (2)	Female (3)	Male (4)	Female (5)	Male (6)	Female (7)	Male (8)	Female (9)
13	1638	1680	6	7	.4	.4	996	996
14	1564	1603	10	27	.6	1.7	990	979
15	1467	1506	16	60	1.1	4.0	979	940
16	1378	1381	27	85	2.0	6.2	959	882
17	1287	1233	37	91	2.9	7.4	931	817
18	1192	1074	51	133	4.3	12.4	891	716
19	1067	903	77	109	7.2	12.1	827	629
20	941	749	90	106	9.6	14.2	748	540
21	793	607	96	83	12.1	13.7	657	466
22	666	493	94	62	14.1	12.6	564	407
23	529	403	77	51	14.6	12.7	482	355
24	425	326	53	40	12.5	12.3	422	311
25	345	267	49	31	14.2	11.6	362	275
26	282	216	37	18	13.1	8.3	315	252
27	223	192	26	22	11.7	11.5	278	223
28	184	155	13	11	7.1	7.1	258	207
29	157	131	24	15	15.7	11.5	217	183

* Assuming that 1,000 young people exactly thirteen years of age left home at rates shown in columns 6 and 7.

to the square root of N , a rate calculated from a sample of one-fourth N has a standard error of only twice that of a rate calculated from the entire sample.

Nevertheless, in order to eliminate sharp random fluctuations in the annual rates, as well as errors in reporting years of departure, a weighted three-year moving average has been used, the central year being weighted with .50 as compared with .25 each for the two other years. This method of smoothing reduces the data to a useful form without destroying clearly significant cyclical fluctuations.

APPLICATION AND RESULTS

Although the method of calculating departure-rates described above is considered sound and useful, its application is still in the experimental stage. Nevertheless, preliminary analysis of departure-rates reveals some promising lines of investigation. In the study of 1,703 North Carolina rural families, the trend of departure-rates over a period of 20 years has been analyzed by age, sex, color, and tenure and relief status of parents. Some work has also been done in studying the relationships of the business cycle and other economic factors to variations in the rate of departure. Incidentally, similar analyses are being made of the marriage-rates of the rural population and of the fecundity of married women.

SEX DIFFERENCES IN DEPARTURE-RATES

Young women leave their rural homes approximately three years earlier in life than young men, as is shown in Table III and Chart I. In the case of young women, more leave home during their eighteenth year than at any other time, but the *rate of departure* continues to increase until the twentieth year of life. After that it gradually falls. This might be restated as follows: If a young woman remains in the home of her parents until she is twenty-one years of age, the probability of her leaving home in later years decreases. In the case of young men, however, the maximum number leave home during the twenty-first year of life, but their highest departure-rate occurs in the twenty-third

year, after which time the rate gradually declines. After twenty-one or twenty-two years of age young men leave home at a higher rate than do young women of the same age.

RATE OF DEPARTURE AND PERCENT LEFT AT HOME

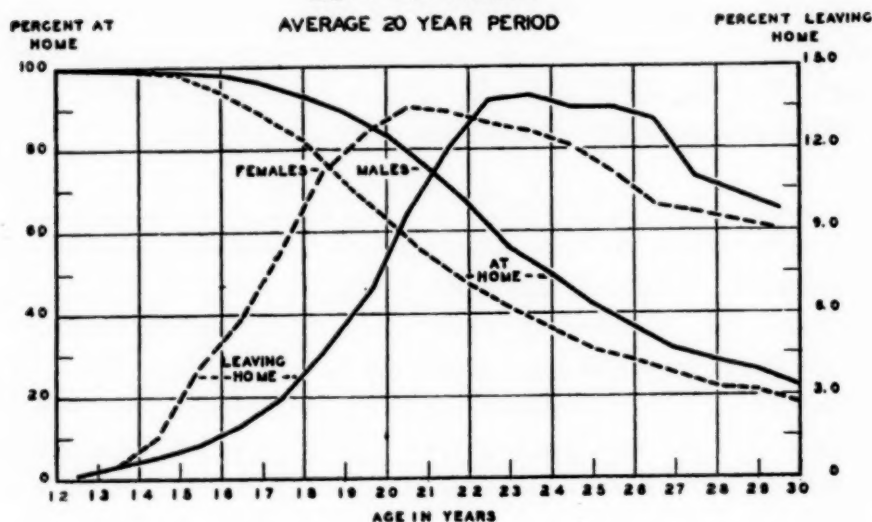


CHART I

This chart shows the normal percentages of males and females leaving home in each year of life from 12 to 30 years of age, as well as the normal population remaining at home at the *end* of each year of life. "Normal" in this case is based on the average departure-rates which prevailed between 1915 and 1934, during which period there was no significant secular trend.

A departure-rate experience table may be derived from the departure-rates by single years of life. If, for instance, the departure table began at exactly 13 years of age with a base population of 1,000, then at 14 years of age, according to the rates in Table III, exactly 996 young men and women would be at home. At the beginning of the fifteenth year there would be 990 boys and 979 girls; at the end of the sixteenth year, 979 boys and 940 girls; and so on. (See columns 8 and 9 of Table III.) In a cross-section analysis, a tabulation of the actual number and percentage of offspring at home may be calculated, and such ratios should closely approximate those in the departure table.

The theoretical table, however, provides from the same general data a much smoother curve. Furthermore, the percentage of offspring at home in a given year, as calculated from a cross-section study, is unduly influenced by the departure-rates during the most recent years. The theoretical departure table shows the normal or long-time picture.

In this study, the cross-section analysis of "at home" ratios by years showed fewer young people at home in each year of life than is indicated in the departure table. This differential is attributed to the high rates of departure during 1933 and particularly during 1934. This may be interpreted to mean that young people are not stranded in the homes of their parents, as perhaps was the case in 1931 and 1932.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND DEPARTURE-RATES

Economic conditions, as measured by farm income and opportunity for non-farm employment, are undoubtedly related to the departure-

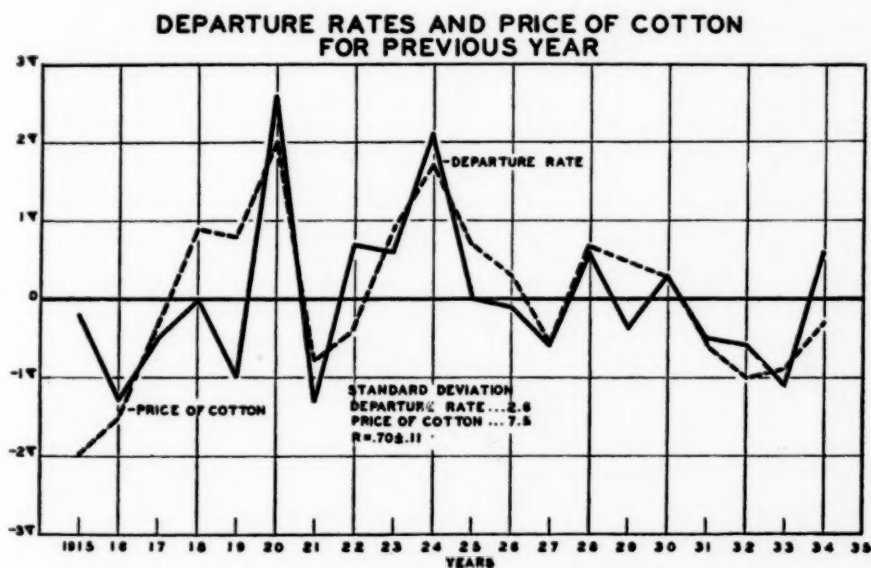


CHART II

This chart illustrates the correlation between the annual departure-rate and the North Carolina price of cotton for the previous year. The ordinate scale is in standard-deviation units. The cotton price series is taken from the *North Carolina Farm Forecaster*. Secular trend has been eliminated from both series.

rates of rural youth. Table II shows, for instance, that departure-rates were very low during 1931 and 1932, the worst of the depression years, and that there was a significant increase in departure-rates during 1933 and 1934. A sudden rise in departure-rates immediately following the World War, when cotton and tobacco prices were very high, is also to be noted; and, correspondingly, a sharp fall in departure-rates in 1921, ordinarily labeled as a depression year.

Statistical evidence of the relationship between economic conditions and the departure of rural youth from their parental homes is found

TABLE IV
DEPARTURE-RATES OF OFFSPRING, 15-29 YEARS OF AGE, FROM RELIEF AND
NON-RELIEF PARENTS, SHOWING ALSO THREE-YEAR MOVING
AVERAGES OF DEPARTURE-RATES.

Year	Actual Crude Rates			Moving Averages of Rates*		
	Total	Relief	Non-Relief	Total	Relief	Non-Relief
1934	11.2	9.8	11.6	(11.2)	(9.8)	(11.6)
1933	8.2	7.3	8.3	8.6	7.5	8.9
1932	6.9	5.8	7.2	7.1	6.0	7.3
1931	6.3	5.3	6.5	7.5	6.0	7.8
1930	10.4	7.4	11.0	8.5	6.3	9.0
1929	7.0	5.1	7.4	8.2	6.5	8.5
1928	8.2	8.5	8.2	7.8	7.0	7.9
1927	7.6	6.0	7.9	8.2	7.9	8.2
1926	9.3	11.0	9.0	8.6	9.3	8.5
1925	8.2	9.3	8.1	9.0	10.2	8.8
1924	10.3	11.1	10.2	8.9	10.2	8.7
1923	6.8	9.2	6.5	8.1	9.1	8.0
1922	8.4	7.0	8.7	7.5	6.0	7.7
1921	6.3	1.0	6.9	8.0	4.0	8.4
1920	10.7	7.0	11.2	8.6	6.2	8.9
1919	6.5	9.8	6.1	8.0	9.3	7.8
1918	8.1	10.5	7.8	7.1	9.2	6.8
1917	5.5	5.9	5.5	6.8	6.5	6.8
1916	7.9	3.6	8.5	6.7	6.0	6.8
1915	5.3	10.7	4.5	(5.3)	(10.7)	(4.5)

* See the text for an explanation of the moving averages used. As no moving averages for the years 1915 and 1934 could be calculated, the actual values have been inserted in parenthesis.

in a correlation of departure-rates in two cotton-farming areas⁴ with the price of cotton the year previous to the year of departure. A correlation of $r=+.70\pm.12$ was found between these two variables, a correlation which is clearly significant. Chart II shows this correlation graphically. The correlation is a logical one, because the high price of cotton has its greatest effect on farm income in the latter part of the crop-year, and such income naturally enables many young people to get a job, go to college, get married, or perhaps to set themselves up in farming the following year. To be sure, a relatively high farm income increases migration to farms, but it may also aid many young people in the country to begin farming for themselves.

DEPARTURE RATE TRENDS BY RELIEF STATUS

3 YEAR MOVING AVERAGE
WEIGHTS 1-2-1

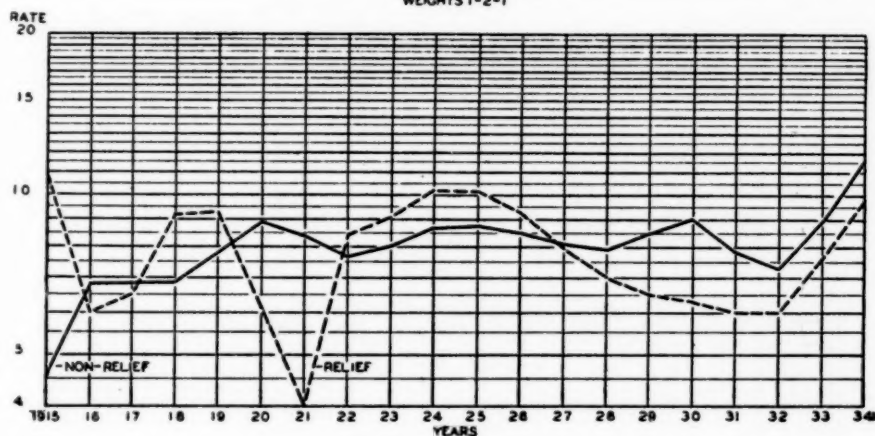


CHART III

This chart indicates that young people from families on relief in 1934 left their parental homes at a higher rate during a period of relative prosperity, but that in periods of depression they left their homes at a lower rate than did young people from non-relief families. In 1933 and 1934, however, the departure-rates of both relief and non-relief youth increased at approximately the same rate.

RATES OF DEPARTURE FROM RELIEF AND NON-RELIEF FAMILIES

For six consecutive years, 1929 to 1934 inclusive, the departure-rate from relief⁵ families was *significantly*⁶ lower than the departure-rate

⁴ Johnston and Robeson counties, North Carolina.

⁵ On relief between April 1, 1934, and April 1, 1935.

⁶ If there were no *real* difference between the departure-rates of the relief and non-relief

from non-relief families. Furthermore, the trend in departure-rates from relief families seems to indicate that in the "good" years, offspring of relief parents left their homes at a higher rate than did offspring of non-relief families. Table IV and Chart III present the evidence for the above statement. In the prosperous war years of 1918 and 1919,

TABLE V

THREE-YEAR MOVING AVERAGES OF DEPARTURE-RATES OF OFFSPRING, 15-29 YEARS OF AGE, BY COLOR, SEX, AND YEAR OF DEPARTURE, 1915-1934.*

Year	White		Colored	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
All Years	7.1	10.6	6.8	7.8
1934	(10.3)	(15.5)	(6.8)	(10.5)
1933	8.0	11.1	5.6	8.6
1932	6.7	8.9	4.8	7.1
1931	7.1	9.5	5.6	6.8
1930	7.7	10.5	8.3	7.2
1929	6.6	10.3	9.4	6.3
1928	6.0	11.1	8.1	4.0
1927	6.6	11.6	6.3	7.4
1926	7.1	10.5	6.7	10.4
1925	7.4	10.5	8.7	10.2
1924	7.0	11.6	8.5	9.2
1923	6.4	11.3	6.1	8.1
1922	6.8	9.4	5.4	7.7
1921	6.9	9.5	7.8	7.8
1920	6.7	11.0	9.6	7.5
1919	6.8	10.2	7.4	7.4
1918	7.1	8.3	4.7	7.1
1917	7.3	8.0	3.9	6.2
1916	6.5	8.7	3.9	5.8
1915	(4.0)	(6.6)	(4.3)	(6.5)

* As no moving averages could be calculated for the years 1915 and 1934, the actual crude rates have been inserted in parenthesis.

populations, the *probability* that the relief departure rate would be lower than the non-relief departure rate for six consecutive years would equal $(.5)^6$ or .015625. It may be added that this difference in the departure-rates of relief and non-relief families prevails for six consecutive years and in each sex group as well—a series of events which would, on the average, occur only once in 4,196 years were there no significance to the data.

the departure-rate from relief households was higher than that from non-relief households. Similarly, in the good years from 1923 to 1927, the rate of departure from relief families was higher than from the non-relief families. Also, the dip during 1920, 1921, and 1922 in the departure-rates for relief families is closely associated with the dip in agricultural income and other economic factors.

The fact that departure-rates for offspring of relief families seem to be more sensitive to changes in agricultural and economic conditions is quite in keeping with a correlation found between cotton prices and departure-rates. Even though the relief families of 1934 were not on relief in 1921, their average economic status in 1921 is known to have been somewhat lower than that of families who were not on relief in 1934. Further investigation may reveal that departure-rates in low-income groups are more closely correlated with changes in economic conditions than is the case in high-income groups. Such a relationship not only would confirm the findings of this study, but also would be in agreement with economic theory.

DEPARTURE RATE TRENDS BY COLOR AND SEX

3 YEAR MOVING AVERAGE
WEIGHTS 1-2-1

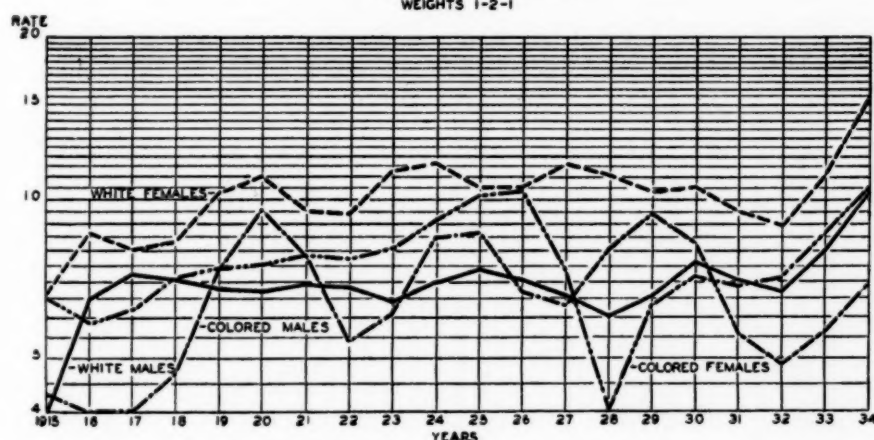


CHART IV

The departure-rates of all sex and color groups have increased during 1933 and 1934 at approximately the same rate. There is apparently no secular trend up or down in these rates.

TREND IN DEPARTURE-RATES BY COLOR

An analysis of departure-rates by color and sex, as shown in Table V and Chart IV, reveals some logical relationships, as well as some associations that are not so easy to explain. In the first place, there seems to be little correlation between the departure-rates of the four sex and color groups. In all groups, however, departure-rates were low in 1931 and 1932, definitely higher in 1933, and considerably higher in 1934. In the second place, the departure-rates of white males are less subject to sharp and wide variation than is the case of the colored males. The

TABLE VI

THREE-YEAR MOVING AVERAGES OF DEPARTURE-RATES OF OFFSPRING, 15-29 YEARS OF AGE, BY TENURE STATUS OF PARENTS, 1915-1934.*

Year	Tenure Status			
	Owners	Tenants	Croppers	Laborers
All Years	8.2	8.1	9.3	6.6
1934	(13.7)	(8.4)	(10.2)	(8.8)
1933	9.8	7.6	9.2	6.0
1932	7.1	7.6	8.2	5.3
1931	7.4	8.3	7.8	5.9
1930	8.7	8.6	8.8	6.6
1929	8.6	7.1	9.3	5.8
1928	8.6	5.6	8.8	4.8
1927	9.1	6.2	8.7	6.2
1926	8.4	8.0	10.0	9.5
1925	8.1	10.3	10.6	10.5
1924	8.0	11.4	10.4	8.2
1923	7.2	9.0	11.9	6.8
1922	6.9	6.3	13.2	6.4
1921	7.0	8.6	12.5	7.7
1920	7.1	11.9	11.1	8.2
1919	6.9	10.5	9.8	6.0
1918	6.6	8.9	8.7	3.7
1917	6.8	8.1	6.5	3.7
1916	7.4	5.9	4.9	4.8
1915	7.4	5.0	4.8	5.7

* As no moving averages could be calculated for the year 1934, the actual crude rates have been inserted in parenthesis.

"ups and downs" in the curve for colored males seems to be more closely associated with the business cycle than is true in the curve for white males. This relationship is in keeping with the association between relief status and departure-rates, as well as with the correlation between cotton prices and departure-rates previously noted. In the third place, the curve of departure-rates for white females is higher than that of all other groups. It shows somewhat more variability than the curve for white males, but somewhat less variability than the curves for either of the colored groups. Finally, the curve for colored females shows a steady rise from 1916 to 1926, a sudden drop in 1927 and 1928, a recovery in 1929 and 1930, a slight recession in 1931 and 1932, and a significant rise in 1933 and 1934. Although some of these fluctuations are logical, further studies will be necessary to provide adequate explanations and interpretations.

TENURE STATUS AND DEPARTURE-RATES

Table VI and Chart V show the three-year moving averages of departure-rates according to the tenure status of the farm families studied.

DEPARTURE RATE TRENDS BY TENURE STATUS

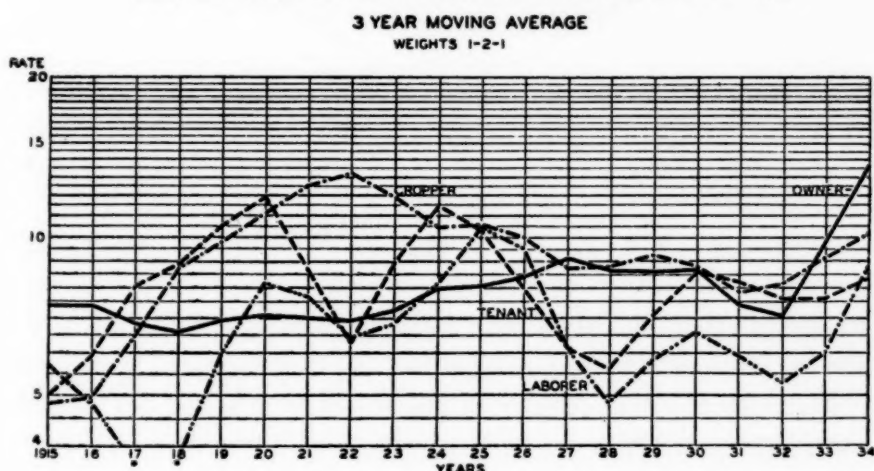


CHART V

This chart indicates that the departure-rates of rural youth from farm owner and farm laborer families increased most rapidly during 1933 and 1934. The departure-rates of rural youth from owner families seem to be the most stable of all, particularly in years previous to the depression.

Tenure status is defined as of 1935. To be sure, previous to 1935 some of the owners may have been tenants or laborers, and some of the tenants may have been owners. However, approximately 50 per cent of the farmers in each tenure group began their careers in the same tenure group that they were in at the time of this study. In any case, tenure status as of 1935 very probably indicates definite planes of social stratification.

The analysis of departure rates by tenure status confirms the conclusions previously drawn with reference to economic status and migration. The curve of the departure-rate for sons and daughters of farm owners is obviously more stable than are the curves representing other tenure groups. Furthermore, during the years 1933 and 1934, sons and daughters of farm owners left home at a rate substantially above that of other groups.

In spite of these trends just noted, it should be said that tenure status does not by any means provide as clear an index of general social and economic status as does the relief-status dichotomy. Some owners of small, infertile farms were on relief; whereas, many croppers living on large, rich farms make substantial incomes and were not on relief.

CONCLUSION

This paper has presented a simple and practical method of measuring and analyzing the rates at which rural young people depart from their parental homes. The same method is being used in a study of marriage-rates. The basic data needed for this type of study are very few and could be collected extensively and rapidly through simple enumerations of the population or in connection with other social studies. Through a little coöperation and co-ordination in regional research, an adequate amount of data could be obtained for detailed and extensive analysis.

This paper has also demonstrated that there is a relationship between the variations in departure-rates and the economic status of the families involved—whether the economic status is measured by relief, color,

tenure status, or the general income available. The explanation for this relationship between departure-rates and economic status will perhaps best be understood when considered as a part of the response of the rural family and its members to the social environment. For example, it has been shown in a number of studies that the standards of living of poor people are much more dependent on income than is the case of the well-to-do. It is not surprising, therefore, to find departure-rates of rural youth following a similar pattern.

The Study of the Life Cycle of Families

Charles P. Loomis

✓ THE CONCEPT of the life cycle of the family offers an expedient technique by means of which differences in rural and urban cultures, as well as variations within rural and within urban cultures, may be depicted.¹ Granted the families in any two situations or cultures are comparable in their essence or form, their relative behaviors in time and space are significant phenomena for purposes of comparison and differentiation. Relative to the tremendous amount of literature on the family, little attention has been given to family life cycles, yet some observations in this field have been made.

ADAPTATIONS OF RURAL AND URBAN FAMILIES

✓ Few studies have for their objective the city family's life cycle. Practically all of these studies, the most important of which are those by B. S. Rowntree, have dealt with the poorer families in the urban environment. This student of the poorer workers in England has plotted the life cycle of the individual laborer, showing its deviation above and below the poverty line, a measure which he has developed from requirement standards. According to his description, the period before and during the first years of marriage is characterized by relative plenty. This period of "comparative prosperity" may continue after marriage until the worker has two or three children. Then poverty again overtakes the worker and his family and this period "will last perhaps for

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¹This article contains the substance of a paper prepared for the 12th Congrès de l'Institut International de Sociologie, Brussels, August 25-29, 1935.

ten years, i.e., until the first child is fourteen years old and begins to earn wages." However, if there are more than three children, this period of poverty will last longer. While the children are earning, and before they leave home, the laborer and his family may enjoy another period of prosperity, "possibly, however, only to sink back again into poverty when his children have married and left him . . ." The family as a unit, therefore, may be said to sink below Rowntree's poverty line when there are many eaters and few workers, rise above this line when there are more workers than mere consumers, and again fall below the poverty line when the aging couple is left alone and is too old to earn.² A study of the standard of living of urban laborers of Germany shows that during the period when the younger children are being added to the family, or when families are large generally, the adjustment which the poorer city worker makes is simply to lower his and his family's consumption, since there is no possibility of increasing his wages merely because he has many young children.³

How do these facts, which are revealed by studies of the urban family as it passes through its life cycle, compare with those in the farm family's life cycle? P. A. Sorokin has diagrammed the life cycle of the family as falling into four periods.⁴ C. P. Loomis used somewhat the same empirical mode of procedure for analyzing the life cycle of white farmers' families in North Carolina.⁵ C. C. Zimmerman has treated all of these studies and demonstrated their application.⁶ H. C. Taylor,

² B. S. Rowntree, *Poverty, A Study of Town Life* (New York, 1922), pp. 160 ff. See also the same author's *The Human Needs of Labour* (London, Edinburgh, and New York, 1918), chap. i, in which he discusses the influence of the proportion of children who are under 14, and hence unproductive.

³ *Erhebung von Wirtschaftsrechnungen minderbemittelter Familien im Deutschen Reiche*. Zweites Sonderheft zum Reichs-Arbeitsblatte (Bearbeitet im kaiserlichen statistischen Amte Abteilung fuer Arbeiterstatistik, Berlin, 1909), pp. 31, 67.

⁴ P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* (Minneapolis, 1931), II, 41 ff.

⁵ C. P. Loomis, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Division of Sociology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1933. Part of this is published in "The Growth of the Farm Family in Relation to Its Activities," *Bulletin No. 298*, North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, Raleigh, 1934.

⁶ Carle C. Zimmerman and Merle E. Frampton, *Family and Society* (New York, 1935), pp. 59-60.

✓ J. D. Black, and other agricultural economists have stated the theoretical implications of the life cycle and family size as a factor in agricultural economics.⁷ Some American sociologists have treated the problem, although usually from a slightly different angle.⁸ From the works of Tschajanow⁹ and his summary of Russian and other works it is evident that, although the life cycles of the peasant and of the urban family are somewhat comparable biologically, the adjustment made to obtain a livelihood during the various phases of the life cycle differs in the two instances. When the ratio of mere *consumers* to *workers* is great, the peasant family is not restricted by an inflexible wage, but may increase its income per worker by increased exertion. This is actually done; where possible more land is cultivated and the return per worker increases during the period when the family is burdened by unproductive individuals. Thus the family stands a better chance of securing for its members the necessities of life and, relatively speaking, of avoiding falling below the "poverty line." Furthermore, studies show that as the family grows in relative number of workers who are over fifteen years of age, the size of the holding tends to increase where possible, but the income per worker decreases because there is not the drive which want and unsatisfied desires produce.

FARM FAMILY CYCLES IN AMERICA

Loomis studied the life cycle of white owner and tenant farm families in a county in North Carolina. The agriculture of these farmers was

⁷ H. C. Taylor, *Outlines of Agricultural Economics* (New York, 1925), pp. 173-175. For a discussion of the principle of the family-sized farm, see John D. Black, "The Role of the Small Farm in Future Land Utilization," delivered at the Chicago Conference on Land Utilization, November 20, 1921; and John D. Black, *Agricultural Reform in the United States* (New York, 1929), pp. 368 ff. For discussions of the principle as functioning here, see P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, *op. cit.*, II, 114 ff.; L. C. Gray, *Introduction to Agricultural Economics* (New York, 1929), p. 102; and George F. Warren, *Farm Management* (New York, 1915), p. 239.

⁸ C. E. Lively, "The Growth of the Farm Family," *Mimeographed Bulletin No. 51*, Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, Wooster, 1932; E. L. Kirkpatrick, *The Farmer's Standard of Living* (New York, 1929), pp. 202 ff.; E. L. Kirkpatrick, "The Life Cycle of the Farm Family," *Research Bulletin No. 121*, Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, Madison, 1934.

⁹ A. Tschajanow, *Die Lehre von der bauerlichen Wirtschaft* (Berlin, 1923), p. 10.

to a large extent commercial, in the sense that the two cash crops, cotton and tobacco, predominated. However, the farming in this area and in the Southern states generally, with the exception of a few areas, is not highly rationalized nor mechanized. The fact that there is much hand labor for the members of the families studied is an important one in family life-cycle analyses.

The white farmers in Wake County, North Carolina, were found to be making an adjustment similar to that of the peasant families, so far as land is concerned. In general, the quantitative membership of the family unit¹⁰ follows a parabolic cycle during its life history. It starts as a small unit, grows to be a large one, and finally, in the process of breaking-up and decay, again becomes small. During this life cycle, the composition of the family varies at different stages.

For empirical purposes of procedure, four successive stages were delimited. Briefly, these are as follows: The first stage includes only childless couples of child-bearing age. The second consists of families with children, the eldest of whom is under fourteen. It is during this second stage that the family has the greatest proportion of young unproductive units. The third stage consists of families in which the oldest child is past his fourteenth year of age and less than thirty-six. It is in this stage that the family has the most working units. The last stage includes only old families.

This life cycle of the family or household may be said to have its positive basis in part in (a) additions due to births of children to the parents, and (b) additions due to relatives who are not children of the parents. The negative basis lies in the gradual breaking-up of the family unit as the children leave the parental home, either to establish new homes or for other reasons. Any breaking away from the parental home plays a definite part in the life cycle of the family.

The growth of the family unit resulting from additions of persons who are not the children of the parents, indicates that the rural family

¹⁰ See C. P. Loomis, *op. cit.*, for the definition of the family used in the studies. For the studies of the family cycles, one analysis of the data included broken families and another omitted them.

is a "protective society" for the aged and also for helpless children. Instead of establishing old-age and other insurance systems, as is quite common in cities, the rural family may be considered as an insurance institution. The pattern of accretion of persons not born to the immediate family, although quantitatively about the same at the different stages in the life cycle of the family, varies qualitatively. In the earlier stages in the life cycle of the family the extra members added are most likely to be either parents or brothers and sisters of the mother and father (grandparents and uncles or aunts of the children in the family). In later stages the extra members are grandchildren and sons- or daughters-in-law of the husband and wife.

The breaking-up of the family unit follows a different pattern for owners as compared with tenants. Children of tenants leave home earlier and for the specific purpose of marriage to a greater extent than do children of owners. However, among both owners and tenants the children do not, as a rule, move so far away as to be out of easy contact with the parental home. When children leave home but continue to farm in the same neighborhood, only partial separation may be said to have taken place. Mutual aid between the new and the old units can more easily continue when they are not separated by great geographical distances. On the whole, about the same proportions of owners' and tenants' children continue the industry of farming.¹¹

The more working units there are in the farm family, the more land it is likely to farm. This causes the actual amount of land farmed by the family to fluctuate with the life cycle of the family. The amount of land farmed per adult unit remains fairly constant during the life cycle, in sharp contrast to a great fluctuation so far as the average holding per household is concerned. Such fluctuations emphasize the fact that the farm family forms the basis of an integrated, productive enterprise which is fairly efficient in adjusting the factor of labor to the factor of

¹¹ These data tend to refute the contention that, for the area studied, rural society selects its least competent persons to remain on the farm and sends its "best" elements to the city.

land. On the whole, the larger the family, the more land it will try to till.

It should be recognized that there are many other ways besides the increasing of crop acreage which might effect an adjustment of the labor force. In the area studied, the family might farm more intensively by shifting from cotton to tobacco or in various other ways. Therefore, the increase in the acreage as the family grows (and its decrease as the family becomes smaller) must be significant, because, without a doubt, the other forces are working also. Since the large family spends a smaller proportion of the budget on the farm enterprise than does the small family, and since the acreage is greater in the case of the large family, the conclusion naturally follows that the third factor, family labor, is playing a more important role in the large family than in the small. As land is increased, capital is decreased in its relative proportion, while the expenditure for labor in the form of food for the family is increased. Not only is the cash expenditure for food increased, but also more food and fuel are grown on the farm.¹²

In the North Carolina study the income accruing to the family from the farm enterprise follows approximately the same pattern as does the number of crop acres farmed by the family in the different stages of its life cycle. The income per adult unit¹³ does not fluctuate greatly. The large family tends to earn a larger income than does the small family.

¹² In his study Kirkpatrick found that the Wisconsin families which contained older (high school) children were able to reduce their cash expenditures for the farm enterprise by using more unpaid family labor. "The Life Cycle of the Farm Family," p. 18. An historical study by Loomis and Hamilton shows that the acres operated by Negro tenant farmers increased as the family became older and larger. This was especially true of the first 20 years of existence of the family. After the family had made its most rapid period of growth, the acreage operated continued to increase, but did not differ from the apparent secular trend for all Negro farmers in the county where the study was made. Charles P. Loomis and Horace Hamilton, "Family Life Cycle Analysis," accepted for publication in a forthcoming issue of *Social Forces*.

¹³ Here it is immaterial which of the various scales, such as the adult-equivalent scale, the adult-male-equivalent, the ammain, or the cost-consumption unit, is used. These scales are all designed to give some common measure of size and age to families of different composition.

The North Carolina owner families put more money into the farm enterprise and into investments in land, whether computed on the basis of average per household or proportion of the total budget, during the time the family has the largest working force. This is not true in the case of the tenant families which, instead of putting more money into the enterprise in the form of investment or other expenditure, put more into food and clothing as the family working force grows. The chief contribution of the latter is labor power, so they tend to expand this and till more rented acres.

The large family tends to spend a larger proportion of the total budget for food than does the small family. In the case of tenants, this is also true for clothing. Most of the added expenditure is taken out of the money previously used for the farm enterprise. This shift in expenditure may mean the purchasing of fewer machines and the hiring of less labor, which indicates that the family working force is playing a more important role in the large family than in the small one. The quantity of food and fuel produced on the farm fluctuates as the family passes through the various stages, so that the larger the family, the more food and fuel it produces for home consumption.

Changes in expenditures for health and in frequency of visitations by doctors indicate that there are fluctuations in the health of the members of the family as it passes through the stages of its life cycle. As would be expected, these indices point toward the conclusion that the North Carolina farm family with many small children and the family made up of the old parents alone are, relatively speaking, most burdened with sickness.

As the family grows, it does not increase the size of the home as it does the farm land acreage. This may be because it is not customary to build "L's" on houses in North Carolina. Furthermore, it shows that family life is different from the extra-family life. "Crowding," in the sense of increased persons per room, does not have the same

results in families as it does in the extra-family units.¹⁴ The owner family increases the value of the furniture as the family ages, but the tenant family does not do so to any great extent. Tenants are either too poor to increase furniture outlay or find it impractical to do so because of moving so much more often than the owners.

The farm owner's wife does not work outside the house as much after children are born as before. During the stage when most of the children are being born or are still young, she restricts her outside work. During the stage when there are many adult children in the household who can do her work, she restricts her outside work more than in any of the preceding stages. Because the tenant family is poorer, the tenant's wife works about the same number of hours outside in all stages, except that in the last stage, the amount of work done is restricted by age. Hence, in North Carolina the wife may be considered part of the working force of the farm enterprise.¹⁵

Because of the more pronounced secular trend in modes of purely social behavior, it is more difficult to generalize concerning this than any other behavior. Fluctuations in time used away from home among the families studied by the cross-section method, may be due to the fact that culture in general has changed. The extra-home life has been growing in amount. However, the problem was attacked from several angles, all of which led to the same general conclusions concerning farm families in North Carolina. To corroborate conclusions based

¹⁴ Kirkpatrick found that in Wisconsin farm families, although the size of the house did not change greatly in the different stages of the family cycle, the larger families used a larger proportion of dwellings than did the smaller. "The Life Cycle of the Farm Family," p. 5.

¹⁵ Kirkpatrick found that the expenditures for hired household help in the Wisconsin farm families followed a cycle related to the outside work of North Carolina owner mothers studied by Loomis. When there were many young children, more household help was employed than when the children were older. Later, as the parents became older, and in some cases feeble, more household assistance was employed. The standard of living among Wisconsin farmers is relatively higher than the standard among North Carolina farmers, and probably less work is done in the fields by the Wisconsin mothers. At any rate, when in the life cycle, white farm owners' wives in North Carolina work most in the fields, Wisconsin farm families have the least hired household assistance and vice versa. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

upon the study of the extra-familial activities of the family in different stages of the life cycle, small and large families, irrespective of their age, were studied. To guard against the factor of age entering into this analysis, both young and old families were analyzed separately.

Within the limitations of the data at hand, there seems to be evidence that the internal and external social life of the North Carolina farm family fluctuates with its life cycle. The accounts of both time and money expended for the general home and extra-home social activity of the parents show this. In the first stage, when there are no children to bind the parents to the home, outside activity is great. With the addition of children this activity away from home decreases, both because the children are a burden, and because they make family home life more intensive. When the parents are old, they are either too infirm to take up outside activity again, or they satisfy themselves with contacts with their children's families which in many cases are living in the same neighborhood.

Although there are many exceptions, expenditures for automobiles and indices of mobility not related to the farm business, indicate that the small family is more mobile than the large. This is added evidence that the younger families have fewer ties and are not integrated to the same extent as the larger families.

The greatest apparent exception to the conclusion stated above, concerning the time expenditure of the parents of the small, as compared with the large, North Carolina farm family, is the time spent in school-community meetings. This index increases as the family grows after the first children are old enough to go to school, and decreases again in old age. Since the other indices of the integrating influences of children seem to point to a curtailment of outside activities, it may be true that the modern school system with its compulsory school attendance could be considered one of the disintegrating influences in family life. On the other hand, the rural schools are considered by some to be, in many cases, merely extensions of the homes. The school-community meetings are family affairs in some areas. They need not compete with the

homes as long as the atmosphere of the school is similar to that found in the domestic units. Thus the children are an integrating force in the family, which helps to hold it together and makes it a more self-sufficient unit, in so far as social contacts, recreation, and other similar activities are concerned. Children may be considered as powerful bonds or ties which hold the parents to the family unit. Thus the institution makes its own pattern as it grows in strength. In a sense the presence or absence of children in the unit means a vast change in the type of social life in the community or society. In a good many respects the influences of the process of family growth upon the family itself are similar to those outlined by Emile Durkheim in his study of suicide. His studies showed that not marriage alone, but offspring were the most important factor in "preventing" suicides in families.¹⁶ Children unite the individuals of a family into an organic whole and lend stability to the group.

Studies of the life cycle of the farm family in Wisconsin and Ohio in some respects corroborate the study by Loomis, but this is not the case in all instances. An example is the factor of the amount of land farmed, which Loomis found to be related to the life cycle of the farm family. The area of land cultivated has little or no relationship to the working force in the family at its various stages, according to the Ohio and Wisconsin studies.¹⁷ This is to be explained by several differences. The farms studied in Wisconsin and Ohio were more highly mechanized than those studied in North Carolina. It is doubtful if the change in labor force in the family registers itself in increased acreages on mechanized farms in the same manner that it does on partially-mechanized farms where a great deal of labor is done by hand. Furthermore, the problems of the ease with which additional land might be supplied, and the degree of intensification of farming methods which might be substituted for increased acreage as an adjustment, were not studied

¹⁶ Emile Durkheim, *Le suicide: etude de sociologie* (Paris, 1930). See especially chaps. ii and iii.

¹⁷ C. E. Lively, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 and 21; E. L. Kirkpatrick, "The Life Cycle of the Farm Family," p. 18.

in any of the regions. However, the cash income from crops in the Wisconsin study is comparable to the results of the North Carolina study. In both cases, cash income increases with the working force of the family but decreases in the group of older adults. Since the acreage does not increase, there is indication that intensification of cultivation results from the growth of the family in Wisconsin.¹⁸

A study made in Minnesota by Wilcox, Boss, and Pond maintains that family labor plays a rather unimportant role in determining whether or not a farm enterprise is successful.¹⁹ Farmers themselves rated this factor last in relative importance as compared with fifteen other factors. The study itself shows that families with large forces of hired help and less family labor were more successful according to several criteria, as for example, the size of the operator's labor earnings. These are computed by adding the cash farm receipts, the increase in inventory, and the value of the farm produce used in the house, and subtracting from this total the sum of the cash expenses, the inventory decreases, a charge for board of hired labor, an estimate of the value of unpaid family labor, and a five per cent interest charge on the total farm investment exclusive of the residence.

This difference between the North Carolina and Minnesota findings can be explained by several factors:

1. The Minnesota study was made during a period of relative prosperity. Studies in Germany and elsewhere have shown that smaller units which depend upon family labor are more stable and make a better relative showing during periods of economic depression than do the larger units which depend upon hired labor.²⁰

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

¹⁹ W. W. Wilcox, A. Boss, and G. A. Pond, "Relation of Variations in the Human Factor to Financial Returns in Farming," *Research Bulletin No. 288*, Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station, St. Paul, 1932. It is interesting to note that the farmers rated the cooperation of the wife second in importance only to farm experience of the operator. The study shows that farmers whose wives cooperated were more successful, measured by the indices used. See pp. 8, 15, 16, 33.

²⁰ C. P. Loomis, "The Modern Settlement Movement in Germany," *Multigraphed Report*, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, 1935.

2. Farm management analyses are apt to procure a rather rough estimate of the value of farm produce used in the house.²¹

3. Since the family is an organic unit, it is more difficult to adjust the size of enterprise to the size of the family than to hire and discharge extra laborers to bring the man power into balance with the capital and land factors. When the family is too large for the farm and prices are good, it may be difficult to secure more land, and the children may work inefficiently in the economic sense, in Minnesota as well as in Ohio and Wisconsin. In North Carolina land could be cropped or rented by the family to make a better adjustment.

4. The cultural environment in the area studied is different from that in North Carolina. Children in these areas, especially among the more well-to-do families, are not the asset that children were in previous generations. Required schooling, which extends in a great many cases to college training, may make the child an actual liability. The North Carolina families, with lower educational standards, are not so much influenced by these social requirements. The Minnesota families were a select group, being made up of those who would keep farm management records. Such families are likely to give their children all possible opportunities.

5. The larger commercial enterprises were found to make more efficient use of hired labor, as compared with family labor, than was true of the smaller enterprises. This indicates that the units were not family-sized farms in the strict sense of the word. If only family-sized farms had been included and the study had been made during a depression, the results would, in all probability, have been different.

The Wisconsin study shows that the family with many children of the "courting" or adolescent age greatly increases its expenditures for clothing and "advancement goods" for these children. Fathers and mothers may go without clothing in order that children of this age may

²¹ This fact was pointed out to the present writer by the senior author, Mr. Wilcox, in a conversation, as one reason why the North Carolina study and his study differ. The families with more children produced more for home consumption but did not receive relatively so much credit for this production.

be dressed according to the current mode. Other family needs are also slighted for the purpose of satisfying this need of the older unmarried children.²² Kirkpatrick found this trait common for farm families of the United States.²³ However, the more commercialized and urbanized the rural culture, the more people are apt to sacrifice to keep in style with the city modes. The North Carolina study shows that the group of families with the most workers spent more for clothing, but the trend of increased expenditures was not more pronounced than for food. In some respects the North Carolina farmers are less influenced by the city culture.²⁴

TECHNICAL DIFFICULTIES IN LIFE-CYCLE ANALYSES

If the concept of the life cycle is to contribute materially in establishing a frame of reference by which families in rural and urban and other different environments are to be compared, it is imperative that the characteristics of the families in two given situations which are comparable be rigidly defined in order to reduce the number of unknown factors. Most of the studies of the life cycle of the family have failed to define satisfactorily the terms employed.

Obviously, if the life cycle analysis of families in any given society is to be used for comparative purposes, it must be based upon similar definitions of the family. If the prevailing form of the family differs in two geographic or cultural areas it is not easy to make meaningful comparisons of the life cycle. For example, it is difficult to use the life cycles of polygamous and monogamous families indiscriminately, to show the influence of various factors in the growth of the family in urban and rural situations.

A. Tschajanow maintains that the family may be defined according to biological or according to economic criteria. He maintains that the

²² E. L. Kirkpatrick, "The Life Cycle of the Farm Family," p. 30.

²³ *The Farmer's Standard of Living*, p. 205.

²⁴ See Tschajanow, *op. cit.*, p. 37. Tschajanow states that the influence of city culture upon the desires of peasants might have the same influence as an increase in the size of the family. Other things being equal, there would be a tendency toward greater exertion on the part of the family members, as the peasant family comes in contact with city culture.

rural family may be defined differently from the urban family. In Russian public statistics the family has commonly been considered as a group of persons who eat from one table or out of a common kettle. Others have defined the family as a group that sleeps under the same roof, behind the same lock. This is a definition used by S. Bleklow for the French peasant.²⁵

At least one rural study has defined the family as a social unit, the members of which manage a farm enterprise.²⁶ Such a definition, if strictly adhered to, makes it difficult to compare rural and urban families, since relatively fewer urban families operate enterprises as a unit.

In the type of family used in studying the life cycle, for some purposes members who have left home or died are not considered as being members of the family. It is essential that the concept of the family be one of a social group, the important units of which extend to include no more than two generations. The cycle includes parents and children and does not refer to the life cycle of a family made up of many generations carrying the same or different name.²⁷ Many times grandparents and grandchildren are members of the family to be studied, but the marriage of the husband and wife marks the beginning of the family and the death of these parents at old age marks the end of the cycle. Studies differ in their definitions as to whether, and under what conditions, a child may be counted as having left home, and there are other difficulties in definition. However, the common and legal conception of the family in the Western World is general enough to allow for some comparisons of life cycles.

The life cycles in families, although similarly defined in rural and urban situations, will manifest variations within a given country. Many studies have shown that the rural family starts its life cycle earlier in

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Loomis, "The Growth of the Farm Family in Relation to Its Activities."

²⁷ This idea of a family life cycle which extends over many generations is, however, a legitimate use of the term "family cycle" and is a valuable concept for certain purposes. See the discussion by C. Gini in Harris Foundation, *Population: Lectures on the Harris Foundation* (Chicago, 1930), pp. 19 ff.

the sense that the husband and wife are likely to marry younger. The greater longevity and size of the rural family, and the fact that the children in the rural family tend to leave home to a lesser extent or to leave at an older age, make the rural family follow a pattern different from that of the urban.²⁸ This fact does not disparage the use of the concept of the life cycle for comparing cultures. In fact, it may be an aid in contrasting cultures having similar family organization. However, the fact that families of somewhat similar legal or formal definition have dissimilar life cycles in different environments makes it difficult to isolate *internal* and *external* effects of a given factor, such as, let us say, lack of available resources.

Few of the most important statistical studies of family cycles have made any use of the *historical* analysis. For example, no historical analysis has been made of families which began their existence during a given year.

Sometimes a makeshift method has been resorted to: families of different ages have been studied at one time, and these families have been fitted into a life cycle. Naturally, this *cross-section* analysis differs from an *historical* analysis. For instance, if one is studying four phases in the life cycle of the family, and a cross-section study of the population is made, members of families are requested to give information about family composition and related social and economic factors at the time of interview. If the data are gathered for, say, four hundred families (one hundred in each of four successive stages), each group of one hundred families would be typical in size and age composition and would represent a given phase in the life cycle. A different procedure would be to study the life cycle of one hundred families, tracing each through its historical development. Since conditions may change as time passes, the two modes of analysis may yield different results. In America, for example, the young parents in the cross-section study have had more education than the older groups of parents. Many of the parents in families used to represent the last stage of the family life

²⁸ P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, *op. cit.*, II, 41 ff.

cycle in the cross-section analysis could not have gone to public school, since there were few public schools when they were of school age. There have been such fundamental changes in family consumption in the last few generations that a study of the standards of living based upon the variation in the life cycle, using the cross-section method, would not be apt to be the same as the standard of living of families studied by the historical method.²⁹

It is usually impossible to study a large number of families by the historical method. This would involve interviewing only old families, and even then a part of the last phase of the life cycle would not be depicted.³⁰

Notwithstanding these difficulties, the cross-section mode of analysis of the life cycle of the family probably does not ordinarily deviate far from actuality. The fundamental differences in the stages of the life cycle are related to the adding of new members, their breaking away, and the general aging of the family. These biological processes are conditioned by cultural changes, but it is doubtful if they have changed so fundamentally, especially among farm people, as to invalidate entirely cross-section studies of the family cycle.

²⁹ E. L. Kirkpatrick, "The Life Cycle of the Farm Family," p. 9. Here it is stated that a great change in food consumption has taken place. Since the study is not an historical, but a cross-section study, there is no way of knowing whether food habits in the last 40 years have undergone more change than the difference one finds now between young and old families.

³⁰ Hamilton and Loomis have studied the life cycle of Negro families with the view of comparing the historical and cross-section methods. Although only 33 tenants and 122 cropper families were included in the study, the following conclusions were drawn: The data did not demonstrate that the cross-section method could not be applied to the study of family life cycles. In fact, the comparative analysis, even though supported by an insufficient number of cases, led the authors to the conclusion that the cross-section method is useful in the analysis of family living data. This is especially true in those areas where no great changes in social and biological factors affecting the family have taken place. Loomis and Hamilton, *op. cit.*

A rather complete discussion of the difficulties involved in analyzing the average changes in mental traits as persons mature, by studying persons selected at random with different ages at any one time, is found in E. L. Thorndike, *Educational Psychology*, "Mental Work and Fatigue and Individual Differences and Their Causes" (New York, 1925), III, 270-280.

The other problems involved in a discussion of the growth of the family are many. Is the subject to be approached from the point of view of "successful additions," that is, members who live for a considerable period of time, or are all additions, "successful and non-successful," to be registered irrespective of the length of time they live and the influence they have on the permanent processes of the family? The analysis generally is confined to the living members found to be residing in the families at the time the cross-section study is made. Such an approach includes both types of additions because the "successful" additions are present and likewise many of the "non-successful" additions only recently born. This method does not seriously impair the discussion, because the important problems in the description of the life cycle of a family, especially in its earlier stages, hinge more upon the number of persons who live, and hence consume and produce, than upon the "non-successful" additions. However, one way of describing the growth of a family is in terms of the spacing of births of its living members. This method encounters the difficulty that, when older families are studied, the interval of time between the births of children will likely be greater than for somewhat younger families, if other things are equal, due to the fact that more children in the older families have died, leaving gaps between the ages of the successive living children.⁸¹

To say that the family, as a social group, has a life cycle in the same sense that single plants and animals may be spoken of as having life cycles, is to tread upon difficult philosophical ground. In the present study no attempt is made to prove that the human family is an organic cell or unit in a society composed of living human individuals, in the sense that a plant or an animal may be considered as an organism made up of units or cells of living protoplasm. The question as to whether social groups or the whole of human society may be considered as a totality made up of individuals or smaller groups of individuals, which

⁸¹ Tschajanow, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14. Here it is stated that these difficulties may in a sense be overlooked, because such investigation is interested in the economic not the biological family. He assumes the "successful" birth of a child every 3 years. Rowntree in *The Human Needs of Labour*, pp. 22-24, also recognizes this difficulty, but sees no way to cope with it on the basis of available data.

function as cells in the biological sense, need not be raised in this discussion.

Although the life-cycle analysis may lend concreteness to comparisons of family behavior in different situations by contributing to the frame of reference by which cultural traits may be compared, the results of such analyses are not easily interpreted. We may ask, "How do economically poor families meet the necessary expenditures incurred by bringing children into the world and rearing them to the age when their own work pays for the current expenditures which they necessitate?" The question might be more easily answered if all families reared the same number of children, but it may be shown that the adjustment may be partly internal and partly external.

The childless family with a given material standard of living, which requires that all the family resources be expended, can make several adjustments relative to having children. It can increase its family resources by increased exertion on the part of the family or its members, or in some other way; it can lower its material standard of living; or it can make some changes in the standard of living. The family may, however, prefer to retain its previous material standard of living and either forego having any children or restrict their number. The family may also make a combination of these three adjustments. Thus, the adjustment may be made by the family changing either itself or the social and physical environment in which it exists, or both. As is so often true of social phenomena, "immanent" factors responsible for the life cycle of the family may themselves be acted upon by the general environment. These factors may themselves be changed or inhibited, or they may cause a change in the environment which will allow for a family life cycle of a given pattern. Mutual cause and effect are involved in such cases.

The fact that the families in various situations, the life cycles of which are being studied, may not be exactly comparable by definition, plus the fact that the adjustments which families make to a given condition do not manifest themselves exclusively by either outside or

inside change so far as the family is concerned, are important difficulties to be considered in family-cycle analysis.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Studies of the family have given too little attention to the life cycle. The few studies which have been made, however, have led to some important conclusions. Of interest to students of population and students of the economic and social life of the family is the difference between the manner of adjustment of the city family, on the one hand, and the farm family, on the other, as the two different groups pass through their life cycles. The few studies in existence indicate that the poorer city families must either restrict the number of children or reduce their material standard of living to bring children into the world. The farm family, on the other hand, has a somewhat better opportunity of increasing its income, through increased exertion on the part of adult members and in some instances of the small children who may aid considerably in supporting themselves long before they would approach self-sufficiency in the city. Data are presented which show that the whole social and economic life of rural families is different in various stages of the life cycle. Professor Sorokin and Russian authorities have delimited four stages in the life cycle of the family. Four similar stages in the life cycle of white North Carolina farm families were studied, and it was found that this analysis threw light on differentials in biological, economic, and social activity. Other studies made under other conditions and with the use of different methods agree with the findings of the North Carolina study in some instances and not in others.

Studies of the life cycle of families in the rural and urban environments in different brackets of material well-being would be of great interest. Also the differences between the life cycles of families in rural cultures which have various degrees of commercialization, mechanization, or rationalization would be of interest. The few studies in existence indicate that industrialization and commercialization influence the life cycle of families. Since many laws of consumption and living have been

evolved, it would be interesting and worthwhile to test these laws and hypotheses at various stages of the life cycle of the family.³²

There have been many attempts to evolve scales and units which will reduce families of different ages and sizes to units of comparability. Among these are the adult-equivalent scale, the adult-male-equivalent, the ammain, and the cost-consumption unit. As early as the middle of the last century, such units as the "quet" were in use for the purpose of reducing families to a comparable basis. One method of testing and comparing these scales, would be to apply them all to the life cycle of the family so as to determine whether the consumption per unit according to the scale remains the same during the entire life cycle of the family.

It is hoped that future studies will be made with the use of precise definition of terms, and that methods will be developed in order that families may be compared on the basis of their economic and social behavior at different periods in their life cycles. It is also desirable that studies be made by the use of both the historical and cross-section methods.

³² For a discussion of these laws, see C. C. Zimmerman, "Laws of Consumption and Living," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLI (1935), 13-30.

Concentration of Rural Relief in Certain Localities in North Carolina

Gordon W. Blackwell

SINCE certain rural localities present relief problems more serious and relief needs more distressing than are generally found throughout an area, a study of such problem-localities is an important lead in planning programs of permanent rural rehabilitation.¹ In many instances rehabilitation of the individual family must depend, in a large measure, upon the economic and social reconstruction of a community. A plan for the rehabilitation of a number of families *en masse* may be what is needed. Or, from another viewpoint, it may or may not be a wise policy to attempt to rehabilitate a family in the midst of a decayed and decadent community.

The causes of demoralization in most problem-localities are not temporary. Even though a perceptible decrease in the size of rural relief rolls occurs as a result of economic recovery, the inhabitants of these problem-localities still will be on the poverty-level and in need of governmental aid. They will constitute a perpetual relief problem unless the community can be successfully reconstructed economically and socially, or unless the community is partially broken up and its population moved elsewhere. These "sore spots" on the rural relief map should be the object of careful scrutiny by those planning land-use, farm-credit, or rural-rehabilitation programs for the various governmental agencies.

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¹ An example of this type of study is the preliminary unpublished survey of isolated communities in the Tennessee Valley made by William E. Cole for the Tennessee Valley Authority during the winter of 1934.

In order to obtain accurate data concerning the location, types, and problems of the North Carolina localities in which there was a concentration of rural relief, a state-wide survey was conducted in April 1935.² The first criterion used in identifying a rural problem-locality in this study was that it must have on the unemployment relief rolls a percentage of its inhabitants considerably in excess of the rural relief-rate for the state. In April 1935 the rural relief-rate in North Carolina was estimated to be approximately eight per cent.³ Therefore, it was arbitrarily decided that to be included in this study, a locality must have had at least 20 per cent of its resident families receiving relief at the time of the study.

Available material makes it possible to delimit three types of problem-localities in North Carolina.⁴ (1) The *rural problem-village* is defined as an area varying in size from one-sixteenth of a mile to two square miles, and having a density of more than 200 individuals per square mile. Most villages included in this study are unincorporated trading centers. (2) The *rural problem-community*, with an area varying from one square mile to twenty square miles and a density of less than 200 individuals per square mile, may be distinguished from a village. These communities are seldom trading centers, but generally are recognized as consisting of a distinct group of people. There is usually a group feeling—an in-feeling—in the community. Community organization and intracommunity relationships are non-existent as a rule, except for perhaps a school, a church or two, and a country store. These localities

² Schedules on the rural problem-localities were obtained through the Social Service Division of the North Carolina Emergency Relief Administration.

³ From unpublished data of the "Survey of Current Changes in the Rural Relief Population," Division of Research, Statistics and Finance, Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Rural cases are defined as those living in the open country or in villages of from 50 to 2,500 population. It is believed that the relief index is reliable in determining problem-localities in North Carolina. It should be noted that this state has had a relief-rate considerably below that of most other southern states.

⁴ These area and population-density limitations were selected after a careful scrutiny of the assembled data. They make possible one classification of the localities, a procedure which should facilitate discussion. Sometimes it is difficult to discern fundamental differences when one type of locality tends to shade into another. It is not maintained that these definitions would be suitable for use in similar studies in other regions.

are considered here as potential, rather than actual, communities.

(3) There is the *rural problem-area* which contains more than twenty square miles and has a low population density, usually less than 10 persons per square mile. In this sparsely settled type of locality the inhabitants seldom feel that they are members of the same group. The area is too large for definite community organization.

Returns from 93 of the 100 counties in North Carolina revealed that 84 per cent have problem-localities as defined above. In the 62 rural counties⁵ for which completed reports on rural problem-villages, communities, or areas were obtained, it was found that 3.4 per cent of the population of the counties as of 1930 was included in these problem-localities, as compared with 10.2 per cent of the relief load. Inasmuch as the three types of localities already delimited differ widely in characteristics and problems, each will be given separate consideration.

Problem-Villages. Two in every ten of the 161 rural problem-localities reported are classed here as problem-villages. Problem-localities of this type are fairly well distributed throughout the state, save for a concentration of cotton-mill villages in Gaston, Lincoln, and Cleveland counties. (See the accompanying map.) The estimated average area of these problem-villages is approximately one-half of one square mile. The median density of population is estimated to be 1,005 persons per square mile. This makes it evident that these are small, closely settled, and compact centers. The median number of families living in these villages is 55, the upper limit being 300 families. The distressing economic situation of the inhabitants in these centers is clearly shown. In these problem-villages the median percentage of families receiving relief at one time or another since October, 1932, is 75 per cent. In April, 1935, the median percentage of families on relief in these villages was 39.

In more than two-thirds of the cases, the primary cause of the economic breakdown has been loss of industry, usually textile or lumbering (Table I). Other industries included are furniture manufacturing,

⁵ Counties in which at least 75 per cent of the population is rural.

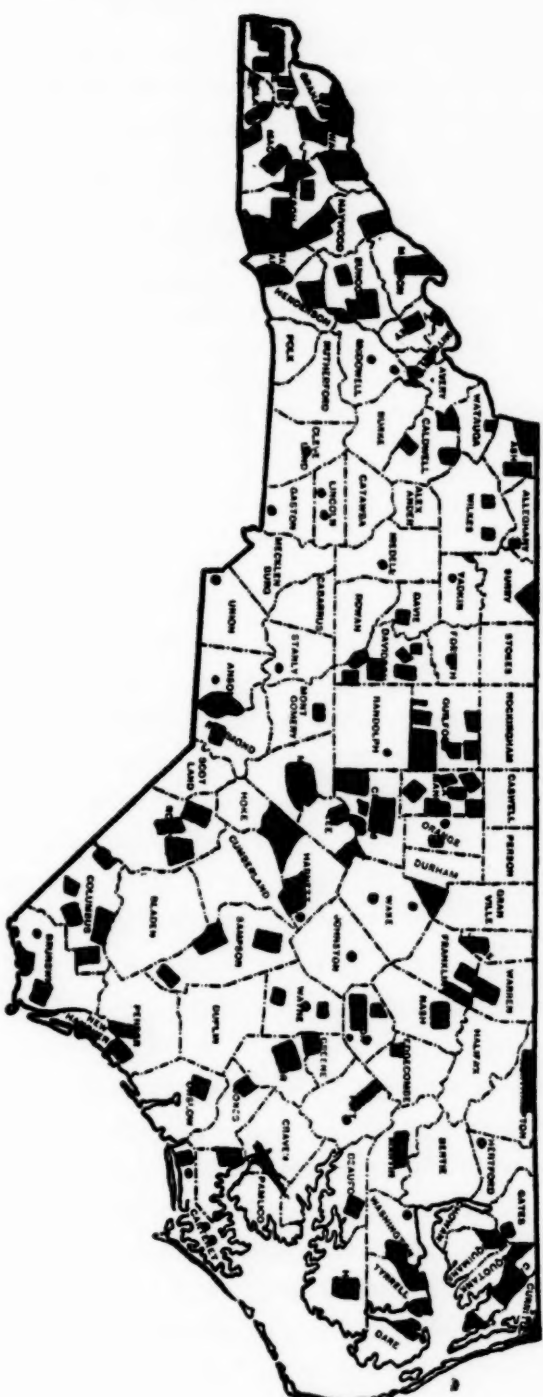
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TABLE I

CAUSES OF COMMUNITY DEMORALIZATION IN 33 PROBLEM-VILLAGES IN
NORTH CAROLINA AS REPORTED BY EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION
SOCIAL SERVICE DIRECTORS, APRIL, 1935

Cause	Importance of Cause			Total Frequency
	First	Second	Third	
Total.....	33	16	9	58
Loss of industry.....	24	3	..	27
Type of people.....	8	4	3	15
Submarginal land.....	1	..	..	1
Inadequate credit facilities.....	..	5	1	6
Geographical isolation.....	..	2	3	5
Insufficient cultivable land.....	..	2	..	2
Poor drainage.....	..	..	2	2

tanning, handlemaking, metalworking, brickmaking, dredgeboating, and fishing. In some villages, only one cause was reported as being responsible for the economic difficulties of the past few years, while in others there appears to have been a combination of causes. In almost one-half of the villages, the type of people is believed by social service workers to be the primary, or a contributing factor in the evident community demoralization. Inadequate credit facilities and geographical isolation appear to be other important contributing factors.

Problem-Communities. Five in every ten of the 161 rural problem-localities are classed as problem-communities. Heavy concentrations are found in the mountain counties, in the centrally located sand-hills section, and in the extreme southeastern coastal-plain tidewater area. With a median area of approximately seven square miles and a median density of 35 persons per square mile, each of these communities contains a group of people who are generally recognized as being separate and distinct from the other residents of the county, yet who are bound together by few community ties. Nevertheless, the inhabitants usually feel that they are "of a stripe." The median number of families living in these communities is 52, the upper limit being 460 families. A

median percentage of 43 of these families were on active relief rolls in April, 1935, while a median of 67 per cent has received aid at one time or another since Federal relief began.

Loss of industry is the most important factor bringing about the economic problems of these communities (Table II). Following is a

TABLE II

CAUSES OF COMMUNITY DEMORALIZATION IN 86 PROBLEM-COMMUNITIES IN NORTH CAROLINA AS REPORTED BY EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION SOCIAL SERVICE DIRECTORS, APRIL, 1935

Cause	Importance of Cause			Total Frequency
	First	Second	Third	
Total.....	86	72	54	212
Loss of industry.....	30	13	6	49
Type of people.....	16	13	8	37
Geographical isolation.....	14	6	6	26
Submarginal land.....	9	18	17	44
Insufficient cultivable land.....	9	15	8	32
Racial prejudice.....	3	..	1	4
Inadequate credit facilities.....	1	2	7	10
Poor housing.....	1	1	..	2
Foreclosure on plantations.....	1	..	..	1
Hookworm and malaria.....	1	..	..	1
Illiteracy.....	1	..	..	1
Poor drainage.....	..	1	..	1
Intermarriage.....	..	1	..	1
Acreage reduction (AAA).....	..	1	..	1
CWA employment				
"spoiling people".....	..	1	..	1
Short growing season.....	..	..	1	1

list of the industries, the total or partial loss of which has resulted in the need for readjustments in 40 so-called problem-communities:⁶

⁶ The industry was not specified for nine other communities in which loss of industry was reported as a cause of demoralization.

Lumbering	22
Fishing	5
Textile	4
Mining	2
Lumbering and mining	1
Furniture manufacturing	1
Railroad	1
Tannery	1
Cotton gin	1
Growing plants	1
Quarrying	1
Total	40

As was true for problem-villages, the type of people was reported by social service workers as an important factor in the demoralization of almost one-half of these communities. This factor was reported more often as a contributing than as a primary cause. Geographical isolation, submarginal land, and lack of sufficient cultivable land are other causes reported frequently. Racial prejudice, sometimes due to racial intermixture, is reported for only a few communities but is a serious difficulty wherever existent. Lack of adequate credit facilities is again a fairly important contributing factor.

Problem-Areas. Approximately three in every ten of the 161 rural problem-localities are classed as problem-areas. Here again heavy concentrations are found in the mountain counties and in the centrally located sand hills section of the state. The size of these problem-areas varies from 21 to 225 square miles, the median being approximately 60. Population density is generally very low, ranging from 1 to 42 persons per square mile with a median figure of 6. The median number of families living in these areas is 94, the upper limit being 500. A median percentage of 36 was on active relief rolls in April, 1935, while a median of 63 per cent has received aid at one time or another since Federal relief began.

Loss of industry is at least partially responsible for the distressing economic situation of almost one-half, or 20, of these problem-areas

(Table III). A list of these industries with the frequency of their occurrence follows:⁷

Lumbering	11
Textile	1
Broom factory	1
Quarrying	1
Lumbering and gold mining	1
Fishing	1
Lime kiln	1
Stock raising	1
Total	18

⁷ The industry was not specified for two other communities in which loss of industry was reported as a cause of demoralization.

TABLE III

CAUSES OF COMMUNITY DEMORALIZATION IN 42 PROBLEM-AREAS IN NORTH CAROLINA AS REPORTED BY EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION SOCIAL SERVICE DIRECTORS, APRIL, 1935

Cause	Importance of Cause			Total Frequency
	First	Second	Third	
Total	42	36	27	105
Loss of industry	15	4	1	20
Submarginal land	7	8	5	20
Poor drainage	5	1	1	7
Type of people	4	2	5	11
Geographical isolation	3	9	2	14
Inadequate credit facilities	3	3	2	8
Insufficient cultivable land	2	4	4	10
Landlord-tenant problem	2	..	1	3
Foreclosure on plantations	1	2	..	3
Racial difficulties . . . . .	..	1	..	1
Acreage reduction (AAA) . . . . .	..	1	..	1
Illiteracy . . . . .	..	1	..	1
Soil erosion . . . . .	..	..	2	2
Intermarriage . . . . .	..	..	1	1
Poor housing . . . . .	..	..	1	1
Agricultural depression . . . . .	..	..	1	1
Poor transportation facilities . . . . .	..	..	1	1

Problems involving the land, such as submarginal land, poor drainage, lack of sufficient cultivable land, and soil erosion, were reported for more than one-half of the problem-areas, usually as contributing factors. The type of people, geographical isolation, and lack of adequate credit facilities were reported frequently, as was true for problem-villages and communities.

Every problem-locality has its own background, development, and immediate plight. Many catch the interest, scientific and human, of the social analyst and planner. To add vividness to the data, several situations will be described briefly.

Study of one county in southeastern North Carolina revealed five definite rural problem-communities, each of which illustrates a special cause of demoralization. These problem-communities, clearly distinguishable from both villages and open-country areas, contain only five per cent of the 1930 population of Columbus County and approximately six per cent of its area, while having 33 per cent of its relief load in April, 1935.*

"Crusoe Island," about three miles in length and one and one-half miles in width, is wholly surrounded by river, lake, and swamp—hence the name. Tradition has it that first settlers were fugitive Huguenots attracted by the isolation of the spot in the early years of the nineteenth century. It appears certain that there is French ancestry. A peculiar enunciation in speech sets these people apart from others in the county.

There has been little immigration and almost no emigration. All of the inhabitants are white, with the exception of one half-breed Negro. General farming and stock raising were profitable in the early days. The population of the community has increased rapidly, property being continually subdivided. Even now almost all of the families own a few acres of land and a shack. Expansion being prevented by natural barriers, population pressure became more and more acute. A tempo-

* The writer has spent approximately two months in this county studying the rural relief situation in general and problem-communities in particular. Definite rehabilitation plans were worked out for the first community here discussed.

rary panacea came in the form of lumbering, which flourished in the vicinity during the first quarter of the twentieth century. This provided a cash supplement to the already too small farm income. Growing of cotton, the only cash crop, was made unprofitable by the boll weevil. With most of the timber gone, with the lumber business at a virtual standstill throughout the region, and with no money crop or industry to depend upon, the overcrowded community gradually has been forced to an awareness of its situation.

Of the 57 families now resident on "the island," 43 were on relief in April, 1935, and six others had been temporarily dropped from relief rolls. Only eight families had not asked for aid at one time or another during the past three years. In spite of assistance in the form of Federal relief, the standard of living in the community has been extremely low as compared with that of other rural relief families in the region.

In addition to lack of sufficient cultivable land and loss of industry, poor drainage, isolation, and intermarriage are some of the factors which have gone into creating the economic and social problems of these people. Five family names include 36 of the 57 families, and the inbreeding shows definite undesirable results, since several of the children are feeble-minded or dumb. Nevertheless, social service workers reported that the people were not of a degenerate type. If a score of the families were removed, reconstruction of the community through intensive agriculture and the introduction of a small seasonal industry, perhaps a woodworking shop, might be possible. There is still enough timber nearby to supply raw material for a woodworking shop, and a number of the residents have shown skill along this line.

Since most of the families already own small homesteads, reconstruction of the community would doubtless afford a much lower per capita rehabilitation cost than if an entirely new community were established elsewhere. Furthermore, it seems desirable to move as few people as possible, especially since strong traditions and other common bonds hold the families together. If decent living is to be made possible for any, coöperation must be obtained from all, and rehabilitation plans

must be on a community basis. Every foot of available land must be cultivated with a maximum of efficiency. Efforts along the line of rural social organization must start practically from scratch, but the number of possible achievements looms large.

In another section of the county is "Straw Hill," a community larger in both area and population than "Crusoe Island." Here again the families are all white. Continued inbreeding shows marked effects on physiques and mentalities. The people here appear to be of a lower type than those on "Crusoe Island." Population pressure has been brought about in much the same way in both communities. Soil has been worn out through the year-after-year cultivation of the same crop while little or no fertilizer was being applied to the land. During the past three years, 75 of the 95 families in "Straw Hill" have received relief. Almost three-fifths of the families were on relief in the spring of 1935. Community organization, social or economic, appears impossible for this community. Because of the submarginality of the land, movement of almost all the families to new locations seems to be necessary.

Another all-white rural problem-community in the county is "Shackletown." Poor soil and a lack of sufficient land are the economic difficulties. Malaria and hookworm combine to produce a serious health problem. The people are looked down upon by the rest of the county, as is usually the case with the inhabitants of problem-localities. In this instance, however, the attitude toward the community is especially unfavorable. Housing in "Shackletown" is very poor as compared with that of nearby rural relief families in general. Exactly one-third of the families were on relief in the spring of 1935. Health rehabilitation, as well as the removal of a number of the families, is badly needed.

The "East Arcadia" Indian community is located one-half in this and one-half in an adjoining county. This division by county lines, and the resultant splitting of responsibility, may partially account for the lack of attention given the social, educational, and economic needs of these so-called Indians until quite recently. Fifty families, most of whom

represent a mixture of Indian, Negro, and white blood, have found themselves socially ostracized. They are not permitted to mingle with whites, and they will not mingle with Negroes. Scarcity of fertile land in the community has resulted each year in a number of these families cultivating land on shares in the rich Green Swamp area some ten to fifteen miles away. During the planting and harvesting seasons many of these Indians take their families to the "big swamp" where they camp for days in picturesque lean-to's and live by primitive methods not greatly unlike those of their aboriginal forebears. Ten of the 50 families were on relief in the spring of 1935, while an additional 15 had been dropped temporarily from relief rolls. It appears that social rather than economic difficulties are most outstanding in this rural problem-community.

The local county paper in 1912 had the following to say concerning the community of "Boardman":

Little has been said through the press of the town of Boardman . . . but no town in North Carolina has ever contributed to the growth of its county more than has the Butters Lumber Company, the wonderful mill that constitutes the town . . . The marvelous growth and development of this mill and the entire section of the county has been phenomenal . . . one of the most important enterprises in the state . . . Boardman has some of the handsomest homes in the county, large colonial residences, and almost every home of any consequence is steam heated, with all modern conveniences . . . Boardman is one of the best towns in Columbus County and in none of them will you find cleverer people.⁹

Such was Boardman at one time. Population declined from 828, in 1920, to 158 in 1930. The lumber mill reduced operations in the early twenties and ceased altogether in 1927. The few residents in the almost completely abandoned town have practically no source of employment. The rural residents attempt to live by farming on submarginal land. Bootlegging has been turned to by one group of families. There is

⁹ From an unpublished MS, "Survey of Boardman, North Carolina" by Leslie Raddatz, Head Case Worker in the Columbus County Office of the North Carolina Emergency Relief Administration. The following discussion of Boardman relies much on this community study. Quoted excerpts are taken from the "Greater Columbus County Edition" of the *Whiteville News Reporter*, January 25, 1912.

much prostitution. Approximately one-half of the families in the community have been partially dependent upon Federal relief since October, 1932. Almost one-third were on relief in April, 1935. To move most of these stranded families to better land seems the desirable solution, especially since large tracts, suitable for resettlement, are available in the county.

Turning to Transylvania County in the Blue Ridge Mountains, one finds examples of another type of concentration of rural relief. In two sparsely settled sections of the county, with no more than three or four persons to the square mile, two-thirds of the families have been partially dependent upon relief since October, 1932. In the two areas, 38 and 48 per cent, respectively, of the families were on relief in April, 1935. The stock law now prevents them from grazing cattle. Most of the timber is gone. The young people in these localities can no longer find employment in the cotton mills 40 or 50 miles distant, across the South Carolina line. Many textile workers have returned to their mountain homes during the past few years. Very little of the land is suitable for farming, and ownership of most of this land is concentrated in the hands of a few landholders. Bootlegging has been prevalent, but now is no longer so profitable as it was at one time. Here again, rehabilitation of a number of families as farmers on an individual basis may be possible. Nevertheless, resettlement is sorely needed for some families, but it probably would be difficult of achievement because of the folkways of the people. In attempting to move families from this area to better potential farming sections, administrative policies should not attempt to run directly counter to folkways. Resettlement should be essayed gradually.

We conclude that many problem-villages, communities, and areas can, and should be, reconstructed economically and socially. It will be a paying proposition from many viewpoints. The cost per family rehabilitated thereby will doubtless be less than the per-family cost in newly-created, organized rural communities. In some instances, however, resettlement of some of the population of problem-communities

and areas will be necessary, but folkways must be reckoned with. Where the type of people is an outstanding difficulty, aid from the social work profession clearly is needed. Loss of industry in rural areas, lack of sufficient cultivable land, submarginality of land, and general agricultural problems appear primarily to be the concern of Resettlement Administration. Through the coöperation of various governmental agencies now existing, much can be done for the people in these rural localities with long-time problems.

Rural Emergency Recreation and Future Rural Social Planning

Bruce L. Melvin

EFFORTS OF the Works Progress Administration to carry leisure-time programs to rural people have been beset by many disappointments, but some accomplishments have actually been realized. Moreover, those who have worked to make the programs succeed have felt that they were doing much more than merely meeting an emergency. This has definite significance for the future.

This paper is written out of some knowledge of what has been undertaken, if not completely accomplished. It has been prepared with a full appreciation of difficulties involved, and a keen feeling that the work, to be of value, must mesh with the permanent programs being fostered in the interests of rural life, especially those carried on by the state colleges of agriculture. The three main headings of this presentation are: (a) program of work, (b) relation to extension, and (c) difficulties and opportunities. The discussion is a synopsis of ideas, rather than a complete presentation of the whole subject of emergency recreation in relation to the extension service.

PROGRAM OF WORK

The program of work, as promulgated in rural territory, has consisted of two parts: (1) development of recreational facilities, including the establishment of farmers' leadership-training camps and the construction of community centers; and (2) promotion of definite activities.

The creation of recreational facilities sponsored by the Works Progress Administration had two objectives: (1) to put available relief

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labor to work; and (2) to provide recreational centers for rural people. Such a facility, when developed on a comprehensive scale, has been designated as a combination of the farm family's educational and cultural center, community house, and "country club." Other names attached have been "Rural Recreational Reserve" and "Rural Recreation Center."

Such centers are usually planned to contain from 10 to 300 or more acres of land and a lake, living stream, or pond. The land, therefore, has been selected to meet needs for outdoor sports, playgrounds, and camp sites. Facilities thus planned vary from inexpensive parks, picnic grounds and camp sites, to elaborate buildings and equipment. Projects of this type, including the leadership-training camps and community centers, to the value of \$70,351,000, were approved by the Works Progress Administration. But since the Supreme Court declared the Agricultural Adjustment Act unconstitutional, thereby stopping the promotional work of the Section in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration with which the writer was identified, he has no way of knowing how much is actually being expended for the construction of the facilities. In some states attempts were made to develop such facilities in every county, but it is doubtful if any such success has been attained. However, considerable help in the development of 4-H club camps has been given under the same heading.

The recreational activities have ranged in actual accomplishment from zero to one hundred per cent in the various states. Outstanding states are Mississippi, in the South, and New Hampshire, in the Northeast.

Here is a list of activities promoted in the South during January, 1936:

Community get-togethers
Square dances
Community sings
Dramatic groups
Dramatic entertainments
Handicraft groups
Manual training classes

Home art clubs
Glee clubs, Junior and Senior
Art classes
Book study clubs
Negro group meetings
Programs for other agencies
Miscellaneous activities

Community nights were the most successful, constituting the phase of the program most beneficial and most generally enjoyed. According to the report:

At these gatherings old and young play together. In one Delta community, community nights are held in a vacant store building. The small children sleep on empty shelves while the older folks enjoy a social evening. At least one each month is held in communities where there are leaders available. . . . The usual community night consists of group singing, special entertainment numbers, stunts, games and contests.

In this same state a program for youth has lately received special attention. Youth forums have been organized with four-fold objectives: spiritual, mental, physical and social. The so-called spiritual program is promoted through vesper services, according to the report, while glee clubs, dramatics, debates, book reviews, and classes on current events serve to develop the youth mentally. Active sports, like volley ball and baseball, develop the physical side, and the social needs are served through community programs.

The details of the New Hampshire program cannot be given here, but a paragraph from the report of the extension work for 1935 clearly describes a part of the picture:

Perhaps the most gratifying bit of community work done in the past half year has been the establishing of the "community night habit." It is indeed a satisfaction to see from fifty to two hundred people varying in age from three-year olds to eighty-five-year olds enjoying an evening of wholesome recreation, planned and carried out under a committee from their own town. The program usually consists of community singing, group games for different ages, simple forms of dramatics, dancing of the type that all can participate in, and special entertainment features bringing out home talent. . . . The instance of one town is given here. A series of six community nights was planned in Canaan with a different committee responsible for each program. The attendance grew from fifty the first night to one hundred and one hundred and fifty the following programs, making it necessary to hold these affairs in a larger hall. At the conclusion of the series the suggestion was made that these activities be continued during the summer months out-of-doors. A fireplace has been built, necessary committees named for the supervising of the programs, and outdoor meals followed by community singing, and open-air dramatics are being enjoyed by the entire

community. The enthusiasm and interest created by these events can hardly be measured, and the value gained by the townspeople cannot be presented in dollars and cents.

RELATION TO EXTENSION

The promotion of recreational facilities as discussed above was done through and with the coöperation of the Federal and State Extension Services. It was the function of the Agricultural Rehabilitation Section of the Program Planning Division of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration to assist in formulating such plans, the objectives being (1) to employ the non-agricultural rural population on relief, thereby keeping them from commercial production, and (2) at the same time to provide centers for the activities of our farm population.

These facilities were being set up with the advice of and in so far as possible under the aegis of, the Extension Services of the states. Indeed, those who were concerned with stimulating the development of such facilities, including the writer, felt that there lurked a grave danger that adequate use would not be made of the centers if the Extension Service as a permanent agency did not enter the picture to help plan the programs.

The relation of the activity programs in recreation to the Extension Services varied widely from state to state. The Mississippi report, quoted above, contains no mention of the Extension Service, though it is certain that coöperation prevailed. However, in New Hampshire the Extension Service set up and supervised the work, a part of the funds being provided by the Works Progress Administration. In Indiana, likewise, there was a definite plan of coöperation, the Works Progress Administration lending assistance for promoting recreation in the 4-H clubs. Similar assistance is being provided for the 4-H clubs in Connecticut.

An example of a coöperative relationship is that established between Indiana University and the state Works Progress Administration, where the two agencies together appointed Professor Schlafer of the University faculty as chairman of a recreation committee for Bloomington and

Monroe counties. Under this committee the Works Progress Administration paid the salary of a Mr. Earle as county supervisor of recreation, together with twelve recreation leaders and six laborers from the Administration's payrolls. Professor Schlafer's statement made at the First Annual Meeting of the State Recreation Committee of the Governor's Commission on Unemployment Relief shows the success of the experiment:

I would like to say that we have tentative plans at the University under way for considerable expansion of our professional preparation program for recreation leaders in order to meet the need that now exists for better prepared people in the professional field. We hope that the experimental program will prove its value so definitely during the present emergency that directed community recreation will win for itself a permanent place in our public welfare and service program throughout the state.

DIFFICULTIES AND OPPORTUNITIES

Disappointment in accomplishments has been keen in a few cases in the emergency recreation work. In some states the Extension Service has exerted no effort to assist the Works Progress Administration's workers, while in other states the Administration apparently has wanted to handle its own affairs. In general, where mutual assistance has not been rendered it has been due to the fact that for the emergency workers, people on relief have had to be put to work quickly, while the extension organizations of the states have had their programs well marked out. Furthermore, it has required a continual effort for those out in the states to keep within the framework of governmental regulations, especially when the reports about such regulations were not always consistent. A major difficulty has been the excessive energy and money per person reached, necessary to meet the recreational needs of rural folk. Furthermore, it was not always easy to find white-collar recipients of relief who could lead in leisure-time activities.

No one knows what the future needs of rural people will be, but from study of past depressions, and from data at hand pertaining to the surplus of young people in rural territory, it is safe to say that the responsibilities for putting many unemployed to work will not be over

within the next few months. With that assumption in mind, I wish next to point out the purposes which motivated the efforts of those in the Works Progress Administration who are concerned with community organization for leisure, and with possible opportunities for state planning to augment the present opportunities for the expenditure of leisure time.

It is now widely recognized that organization for leisure has become an important phase of contemporary community planning, and that the expenditure of leisure time on the part of the people should contribute to resourceful, complete, advantageous, and joyous living. It is also generally assumed that (1) adequate facilities for recreation must be provided by each community, (2) trained leaders must direct the programs, and (3) all age groups must be reached.

The programs in leisure-time activities, therefore, have had two purposes: (1) the providing of useful employment for unemployed persons capable of functioning as community leaders, and (2) the assisting of communities in laying a basis for a permanent program of leisure-time activities through the use of the community resources, the immediate stimulus coming from the emergency funds.

Somebody has work to do in the future; the work of providing recreational facilities and recreational leadership has just begun. In the past this has been, and for the future should continue to be, a practical program, an example of social planning. The definite needs for some time to come will be (1) to provide work for unskilled labor through the development of parks and recreational areas, and the construction of training camps and assembly places which can be of assistance in the improvement of the social, educational, recreational and economic life of all the people of rural areas, (2) to develop programs for the utilization of the recreational, training, and assembly facilities, and (3) to assist communities in setting up recreational programs under the guidance of trained leaders. The latter will absorb in work of genuine service a part of our surplus population. No agency can give greater aid in all three phases than the Extension Service.

CONCLUSION

The recreational programs fostered by the Extension Service and the emergency agencies have emphasized the fact that a large segment of the rural population is not engaged in farming. This non-farming group may increasingly constitute a service segment of the rural population. Its place may lie more and more in the field of leisure-time activities, including the providing of facilities as well as leadership. In this the emergency programs for recreation have pointed the way.

Current Bulletins

Charles P. Loomis, Editor

"The Trend of Births, Deaths, Natural Increase and Migration in the Rural Population of Ohio," by C. E. Lively and C. L. Folse. Ohio State University and Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, *Mimeographed Bulletin No. 87*. Columbus, 1936. Pp. 10.

Birth registration has been compulsory in Ohio since 1915, death registration since 1909. This bulletin summarizes the registration data, particularly for the rural areas of the state. Starting with the simple proposition that the difference in the population of any given area at two different dates is due either to natural increase or to migration, or both, the net amount of migration to or from each county of the state is computed. The counties are then classified as "areas of absorption" (counties which had a net gain greater than the amount of their natural increase), "areas of dispersion" (counties which experienced a net loss by migration, but in which the net loss was less than the natural increase), and "areas of depopulation" (counties in which the net loss by migration exceeded the natural increase of the rural population).

The authors do not present an analysis of reasons for the situation as described, but they do suggest one immediate and practical application of such studies: attempts at resettling rural people should be directed to areas in which the prevailing ratio of population to land resources is low, and where the natural increase of population is low, or the rate of migration high, or both; they should not be directed to areas having a high natural rate of increase and containing a population which shows little disposition to migrate in the face of a relatively high ratio of population to land resources. These are not set forth, however, as the sole criteria for the selection of areas in which denser settlement might become desirable. This suggestion opens up a whole range of problems, for, by implication, it challenges the assumption that the areas of good land have not contributed to the stream of urban-bound migrants.

It is to be hoped that detailed studies similar to that contained in this bulletin will be undertaken in other states. In addition to making available material which is much needed at the present time, they would provide the starting point for more detailed studies of the rural migrations which are becoming increasingly important.

CONRAD TAEUBER

"North Carolina Farm Housing," by Emilie White Stevens and Helen Estabrook. North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 301*, Raleigh, 1935. Pp. 82.

This report is based upon field work done with C.W.A. funds, under supervision of the State Extension Service Specialist in Home Management. It was part of a national survey of farm housing. It gives the size and age of houses, kind of material of which the house was built, conditions as regards need of repairs, and general equipment. These items are classified according to color and tenure status of occupants.

In general, the farm homes are very poorly equipped with labor-saving devices or with sanitary conveniences. More than three-fourths of the families carry water an average of 177 feet.

Only three per cent of the homes have flush toilets, 11 per cent have improved privies, and fully one-third were found with no toilet facilities whatever. Bathrooms, bathtubs, and lavatories were found in about three per cent of the homes. Only 9.5 per cent had electric lights, and labor-saving devices were exceedingly rare.

This bulletin is an effective affirmative answer to the query, "Do we have rural slums?"

LOWRY NELSON

"Part-Time Farming in Oregon," by G. W. Kuhlman, T. J. Flippin, and E. J. Niederfrank. Oregon Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 340*, Corvallis, 1935. Pp. 49.

This study is another in the series of state projects developed in coöperation with C.W.A. and F.E.R.A. The authors interviewed 2,110 part-time farmers in selected districts of 14 counties. It is estimated that 25 per cent of all farmers in Oregon can be considered as part-time farmers, in that their farms are too small to produce a living.

The authors define part-time farming as follows: "Part-time farming as used in this study means living on and utilizing a tract of land by a family in which the wage earner divides his time and energy between it and employment for wages or the operation of a small business, thus deriving a substantial part of his income from more or less regular employment off the place, and furnishing the family with some of its own food requirement, fuel, and the home site, but only incidentally selling small surpluses."

The average farm is 10 acres, of which four acres are cultivated. The average age of farmers is 50 years. Two-thirds of them had had previous farm experience. Most of the non-farm employment was secured in timber and sawmills,

common labor, building trades, mechanical and electrical work, and railroads, although a total of fifty different occupations are reported.

Of all households considered, 77 per cent were equipped with electricity; 68 per cent reported radios; 64 per cent, running water in the house; 46 per cent, bathrooms.

Non-farm employment accounted for 53 per cent of the total family income, the total average annual income amounting to \$958. The chief advantages given for part-time farming are, "country life and lower cost of living." Among the major disadvantages noted are distance from city, work, or school, and lack of employment. The chief mistakes made by the farmers in their own opinion are: (a) paid too much for land, and (b) purchased tracts too small.

Ninety-four per cent of the coöperators said they were satisfied with their situation. The Oregon study concludes that expansion of part-time farming enterprises must depend upon fostering new industries.

This study tends to strengthen the growing conviction among rural sociologists that more research needs to be done to determine family living levels under conditions of combined farming and industrial employment. The studies of the economics of part-time farming in most instances naturally pay scant attention to the social aspects.

LOWRY NELSON

"Readjusting Montana's Agriculture: Land Ownership and Tenure," by Roland B. Reene. Montana State College Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 310*. Bozeman, 1936. Pp. 24.

"Readjusting Montana's Agriculture: Population Resources and Prospects," by Roland R. Reene and Carl F. Kraenzel. Montana State College Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 309*. Bozeman, 1936. Pp. 19.

The confusion of the last few years has led to organized attempts in many areas to understand the factors underlying the changes which are taking place and to estimate the changes which will probably occur. There has been an increasing demand that the social scientist make his interpretations available in a form that large numbers of people without specialized training will be able to use, that is, to apply them to the problems with which they are confronted. Discussion and study groups have insisted that social scientists present, in non-technical terms, summaries of the basic materials upon which discussions of politics and programs can be built. These two bulletins exemplify the response of an agricultural college to this demand. Both bulletins present census and other materials for readers who have neither the time nor the equipment to secure these materials from the original sources. Both describe briefly the present situation and future prospects, and include short discussions of the causes of the changes

which have occurred. Brief comments on the significance of the changes observed are interspersed throughout the text. Each relies largely on the use of cross-hatched maps as aids in presentation, and each avoids the use of tables.

It is neither desirable nor possible for the presentation of such materials to be similar to that of a scientific treatise. However, the salient facts should be set forth in an objective and easily understood manner, without "writing down," and the authors should rigorously avoid any interpretative comments not scientifically justified by the data. The chief advantage of having the social scientist prepare such materials should be his ability to avoid unwarranted generalizations.

Both bulletins meet these standards to a large extent. Somewhat more attention to modes of presentation might have made for additional simplification without loss of accuracy. In the bulletin on land ownership and tenure one might question the use of curves plotted on semi-logarithmic paper, or the complexity of some of the cross-hatched maps; in the bulletin on population the use of figures on average size of family might have added considerably to the discussions of decreasing birth-rates. The statement that a decreasing population involves more drastic readjustments than an increasing one might be challenged, as might also the unsupported assertion that various forms of governmental assistance have reduced the mobility of the population. Whether or not bulletins such as these should deal with one state as an isolated unit, is a matter of judgment—it is to be hoped that the use of these bulletins will lead to demands for similar presentations relating the trends in Montana to those in other states.

CONRAD TAEUBER

Southern Policy Papers issued by the Southern Policy Committee in coöperation with the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936.

Number 1. "Southern Population and Social Planning," by T. J. Woofter, Jr. Dr. Woofter stresses the implications of the relatively high rates of population increase in the South, especially among the whites. The increases, coupled with the decreasing availability of employment and previous migration, have upset the balance of whites and Negroes in urban employment, tended to reduce southern wages as compared with other regions, upset the southern age distribution by drawing off the productive middle-aged and talented groups, tended to create a "hotbed of smouldering discontent," and created an unemployed-youth problem. The A.A.A., although assisting farmers in the upper-income brackets, has not assisted others sufficiently. The policies of Federal agencies should be integrated, and a more rational use of land introduced.

Number 2. "Social Security for Southern Farmers," by H. Clarence Nixon. H. C. Nixon depicts the unsatisfactory economic and social conditions which

confront the southern farmer. The abolition of the tenant-cropper system, revision of tariffs, and utilization of social insurance is advocated.

Number 3. "Social Legislation in the South," by Charles W. Pipkin. C. W. Pipkin describes the laws relative to Workmen's Compensation, Female and Child Labor, Pensions, Child Welfare, Social Security, and the administration of the labor laws in the various southern states.

Number 4. "How the Other Half Is Housed. A Pictorial Record of Sub-Minimum Farm Housing in the South," by Rupert B. Vance. R. B. Vance presents twenty-three excellent photographs of southern houses and homes, portraying rural life among croppers, tenants, owners, and new resettlement colonists in the South, more effectively than might be done in volumes of printed matter on the subject. He makes the point that the prevalence of shacks in the South is due to the system of land tenure. Data on the values of southern houses as given in the 1930 Census are included.

Number 5. "Industrial Social Security in the South," by Robin Hood.

Number 6. "The Southern Press Considers the Constitution," by Francis P. Miller.

Number 7. "The T.V.A. and Economic Security in the South," by T. Levron Howard.

These three bulletins, as is the case with the others, are printed to "stimulate interest in questions of public importance in the South" and may be obtained from the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

CHARLES P. LOOMIS

"Farm Versus Village Living in Utah: Plain City—Type 'A' Village," Parts III and IV, by Joseph A. Geddes. Utah Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 269*. Logan, 1936. Pp. 82.

This is the second in a series of bulletins based on a study of Utah village life begun in 1927. Data relate to Plain City which is a center of 806 inhabitants about 10 miles from Ogden, a city of 40,272 population.

A detailed analysis of the utilization of community facilities by residents of the area is presented. Agencies are classified as falling into the following defined categories: (1) local, (2) semi-local, (3) outside community (largely city), and (4) non-community. The residents are classified into the following categories (defined in the previously published *Bulletin No. 249*): (1) farm dwellers, (2) village dwellers, (3) edge-of-town farmers, and (4) non-farm families. Then the participation of each class is given. The participation of residents by age, sex, marital status and family position is analyzed. Participation during six different months in different years is presented in an attempt to show a seasonal cycle.

By cross-tabulation and correlation techniques, the relationship between distance of residence and participation in local social agencies is analyzed and the provisional conclusion drawn that these two factors are positively related. Density of population and participation in local functions are positively although not closely correlated. The extremely detailed analysis, including tabular and graphical presentation, may trouble one not specializing in community organization. However, excellent summary statements are given.

CHARLES P. LOOMIS

Book Reviews

The Dairy Industry and the A.A.A. By John D. Black. Washington: The Brookings Institution, Publication No. 64, 1935. Pp. 520. \$3.00.

The Dairy Industry and the A.A.A. is one of a series of seven books being published by the Brookings Institution on the various phases of the A.A.A. The last volume of the series is to appear in 1936 and will deal with the broader social and economic effects and implications of the A.A.A. as a whole. For this reason, the volume on dairying is limited to a consideration of practical issues concerning the production and distribution of dairy products.

Chapter I outlines the historical background of the act and its objectives. The temporary or emergency aims are clearly contrasted with the permanent or continuing objectives. Dr. Black considers that the state of emergency for agricultural products will not pass in a year or two, nor will it disappear abruptly.

Chapter II presents a concise summary of facts regarding the dairy industry of the nation and discusses the distribution of milk production, methods of marketing, consumption in relation to price, fluid-milk problems, and the objects and achievements of organizations representing the dairy industry.

Chapter III deals with the dairy situation between 1930 and 1933. From 1929 to 1934, milk cattle increased over 13 per cent, while milk production increased only 4 per cent. This lag in production may be mainly due to the drought and poor pasture and not to a permanent recession of the strong upward trend of dairy production over the past sixty years. After 1929 the prices of milk declined rapidly, but dairy farmers did not suffer from the depression to the same extent as other farmers, because milk prices remained fairly high during the 1921 to 1929 period. Fluid-milk areas suffered less than butter and cheese producing areas, where the price decline was proportionately greater.

Chapters IV and V discuss the fluid-milk industry in its relationship to the A.A.A. The opposing views within the Administration's ranks and the conflicting interests of various groups of producers and distributors are clearly set forth. The problems and difficulties of controlling fluid milk without controlling other dairy products are clearly brought out, and the dangers inherent in fixing resale prices are exposed. A perusal of these two chapters gives one the feeling that the difficulties of control are almost overwhelming, and that those who have patiently attempted to bring order out of chaos are to be admired, in spite of their mistakes, for courageously attempting a solution.

Chapters VI, VII, and VIII contain a general discussion of the structure and functioning of the fluid milk market and the many factors affecting producers' and consumers' prices.

Chapter IX outlines the various alternatives to public control which have been suggested and discussed by numerous specialists in the dairy industry, but contains no recommendations by the author. Dr. Black believes that the final decision will depend upon legal considerations and the results of further experimentation. Public ownership and control of milk-distribution facilities are sympathetically discussed, but in closing the chapter, he states, "Informed and assisted competition certainly has not had a sufficient trial as yet."

Chapters X, XI, and XII cover the application of various forms of distribution and price controls and their legal aspects, both under federal and state boards.

Chapters XIII and XIV deal with production control and the danger of an overexpansion of milk production due to the increase in pasture and hay on land taken out of cotton, wheat, corn, or tobacco. The close relationship between the dairy industry and beef production is shown, and various methods of production control are discussed. These chapters are rather disappointing because they contain no reference to land zoning and planning for uses other than farm crops, and fail to satisfy one's natural desire to know just where Dr. Black stands on the question of applying the industrialists' "planned scarcity" to agriculture. One feels that he is sympathetic to production control, but does he approve of it?

Chapter XV contains a valuable summary and appraisal of the A.A.A. as related to dairying. Dr. Black points out that the program has improved morale and attitudes and that "averages do not serve in the weighing of such values." To some extent, producers have learned to think in broader and less immediately selfish terms and more in terms of the industry as a whole. That Dr. Black is not in favor of the development of this syndicalist tendency is shown by this statement from p. 448: "A society composed largely of organized groups each seeking its own ends would defeat itself utterly." This question of the effect of the A.A.A. upon farmers' organizations seems of great importance to the future structure of society. Will it tend to make these associations stronger or weaker, more socially minded or more powerful in seeking to advance purely sectional interests? Dr. Black leaves the answer to such questions to the final volume, although he points out that the government may play a part in assisting one group of society at the expense of another, and that by a rise in the prices of dairy produce, the poorer-paid workers and unemployed in the cities may be made to suffer.

The book, as a whole, may be criticized for overemphasizing the fluid-milk industry to the neglect of the butter, cheese, and other milk-products industries. There is also a lack of unity in the whole treatment. One receives the impression that great quantities of facts and information have been collected from many sources and incorporated into a book without having been thoroughly digested.

Facts, particularly economic facts, need more than listing—they need interpreting. Today the economic life of all nations appears to be moving towards a period of social control, possibly to a new mercantilistic era. The basic question seems to be: How shall this control be exercised? Shall it be by federal, state, or local executives? Shall it be by legislative edicts fixing quantity, quality, and price limits, or by bargaining associations aiming to establish a reasonable value by supervised competition? Some industries and some types of regulation are suited to one type of control and some to another. To some, federal legislation is essential, while others may best be controlled locally. Is marketing control enough, or does the abundance of agricultural land make some form of production control essential to prevent another collapse of prices in the near future? And if the Supreme Court's interpretation of the constitution prevents a socially desirable national control of some phases of our economic life, are the dangers from amendment greater than the benefits to be expected? Dr. Black presents the facts which raise these basic questions and one wishes he had discussed them much more fully.

University of Wisconsin

ARTHUR C. BUNCE

Social Reform in Norway: A Study of Nationalism and Social Democracy. By John E. Nordskog. Los Angeles: University of Southern California, Social Science Series No. 12, 1935. Pp. vii, 184.

This interesting monograph presents a detailed picture of the rise of one of the most complete social-security systems in the world against a background of intense loyalty to national traditions. The nature of the services and their administration will have minor interest for readers of this journal, but the description of the role played by rural people and rural traditions in the development of these forms of mutual aid, confirm several accepted generalizations of rural sociology.

Of critical importance in Norway has been the absence of full-fledged feudalism, and the presence of a strongly institutionalized linking of family and property (pp. 2 ff.). Social unity developed around a king rather than an aristocracy, and this direct relationship has consistently enabled reforms to be accomplished without social conflict. Rural families have maintained their respected independence. During periods of Danish or Swedish rule, the ancient democratic traditions were nourished in rural communities. The disturbances which have elsewhere accompanied the rise of an industrial proletariat have been minimized by the stable peasantry (p. 30). The whole movement for expanded social services has retained a strong nationalistic tinge, and centralized administration has been balanced by vigorous local-community life.

Chapter VI is particularly relevant to contemporary discussions in the United States. It treats of the strong resistances developed in Norway against profit

from the use of natural resources; the recognition of prior rights of neighbors and kin to purchase released or unused land; controls over the use of land, and rules enforced for the maintenance of soil fertility; restriction on land speculation; recognition of the value of improvements made by tenants; and the protection of the integrity of family property in land.

Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

German Agricultural Policy, 1918-1934. By John B. Holt. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. 240.

Dr. Holt's description of post-war agricultural policy in Germany will interest American readers chiefly because it contains the first thorough exposition in English of the National Socialist agrarian philosophy and legislation. The author's own particular interest seems to lie, however, in the part played by economic necessity, and in the constant struggle between the laborite Socialists, the urban liberal industrialists, and the nationalistic farmers' parties over issues of governmental food administration, tariffs, prices, subsidies, credit, land settlement, and labor legislation.

The post-war period in Germany, with its cycle from a Socialist dictatorship immediately following the Revolution through a period of revived liberalism to the National Socialist one-party rule, offers ample opportunity to observe this interplay of forces in the development of agricultural policy in a modern industrial nation. The methods used by the Nazi in mitigating the antagonism existing between the pressure groups representing agriculture, on the one hand, and labor-industrial interests on the other, are amply treated. In this connection the importance of racial and nationalistic ideologies is stressed.

Readers who are primarily interested in the actual legislation and governmental machinery established to administer the "Inherited Freehold Act," debt liquidation, price control, taxation changes and the establishment of the new department of agriculture (*Reichsnährstand*), will concentrate on the latter part of the book. The work, originally a doctor's dissertation accepted at the University of Heidelberg, treats in an excellent manner the historical development of the agricultural ideology and philosophy of those in power in the German Nazi State.

United States Department of Agriculture

CHARLES P. LOOMIS

Die Kreditlage der deutschen Landwirtschaft im Wirtschaftsjahr 1933-1934. Berlin: Deutscher Rentenbank-Kreditanstalt, Verlag für Sozialpolitik, Wirtschaft und Statistik, 1935. Pp. 47. Tables and illustrations.

The recent German land law, creating inherited freeholds which are inalienable and not to be encumbered with indebtedness, has created new problems in

the realm of agricultural credit. The general condition of agriculture as indicated by relative income and indebtedness greatly improved during the fiscal year 1933-34. A special study was made of from 2,874 to 4,493 agricultural enterprises during the period between the fiscal years 1927-28 and 1933-34. In all the principal farming regions the debt structures of the different types and sizes of enterprises were analyzed. Indebtedness was also related to size, kinds of enterprises, and regions.

General indebtedness of the large units was greater in Eastern Germany than in Western Germany. In neither case were the largest units the most encumbered, although in general it may be said the larger units were more encumbered than the small ones, so far as absolute figures are concerned. This is not true, however, when the encumbrance is expressed as percentage of total value of the enterprise.

United States Department of Agriculture

CHARLES P. LOOMIS

Das Reichserbhofrecht, Eine systematische Gesetzeserleuterung. By Paul Gueland. Carl Heymanns: Berlin, 1935. Pp. 200.

This work is a systematic presentation of the many stipulations and regulations relative to the German Inherited Freehold Law.

Although rigid specifications concerning the eligibility of a unit to become an "inherited freehold" do not exist, the following are their general characteristics:

1. Usually the units will range from 18.5 to 308.75 acres in size. The actual acreage varies with regions, the amount necessary to support a family being the determining factor.
2. The owner must be an efficient peasant, one capable of managing his holding satisfactorily.
3. He must be a citizen and of the "Aryan" race.
4. He must possess only one unit which is to be an "inherited freehold."

Land holdings which met these qualifications arbitrarily became "inherited freeholds" according to law. The routine by which other holdings may become "inherited freeholds" has also been prescribed. Local courts and a Reich Court have been established to administer the legal aspects of these newly established estates and to enter them in a "freehold register."

No "inherited freehold" may be sold or further encumbered without the consent of an "inherited freehold court," consisting of a judge and two peasants. Such a holding is no longer an economic good in the classical sense of the word. It is inalienable. The peasant can borrow money only on the basis of his own reputation for honesty and his capabilities, since real estate and agricultural property cannot be mortgaged. He cannot offer his real property as security.

Furthermore, an heir may be deprived of the landed estate if in the judgment of the provincial or Reich's peasant leader his management of the holding is unsatisfactory.

The "inherited freehold" cannot be divided before nor after the death of the possessor, but must pass intact and unmortgaged to certain prescribed heirs. As was the case in the ancient German kinship groups, at the death of the possessor, one son, or a son's son, inherits the entire estate. Whether the youngest or the oldest child shall inherit the property depends upon the custom of the area. Next in line are: first, the father; second, a brother, a nephew, or a great-nephew; third, a daughter, her son, or her son's sons; fourth, a sister, her son, or son's son. The landed estate which passes undivided to the single heir, includes all the property on the holding exclusive of buildings, furnishings, livestock, machinery, and other equipment used in the agricultural enterprise and for living by the family and employees on the holding. Wives are not legal heirs to the landed estate. However, heirs other than the one to whom the landed estate passes, have equal right to wealth which is not part of the estate. In addition, the heirs not inheriting the landed estate have the right to educational preparation to fit them for their future professions, in so far as the income from the estate justifies. They may return to the "freehold" in cases of emergency and find such refuge as the income of the estate warrants.

As early as 1810 Ernst Moritz Arnt, the poet of the War of Liberation, advocated legislation similar to that included in the New Land Inheritance Laws. He advocated the maintenance of a strong, free peasantry which would own at least one-half of all holdings. The holdings should be family-sized units which must always remain in the hands of a single family, and be inherited by one person in the family. No person should possess two such holdings, and land must not be a free economic good. The peasant should be freed from the *laissez faire* economy and Roman land laws.

The author shows that in the past, most of the provisions of the law have been customary. However, Arnt and the Old Germans who obeyed the practices of the times, had not been conscious of the importance of racial purity. The work is systematized according to the categories and the various concepts and phases of the inheritance freehold itself, the qualifications of the "peasant" (Bauer, only the owner of a Freehold can claim this title), the sequence of inheritance, the restrictions on sale, debt encumbrances, division, forced foreclosure and renting of the freehold, and the Freehold register are discussed and clarified. The succession of heirs of a freehold is diagrammatically portrayed.

United States Department of Agriculture

CHARLES P. LOOMIS

Elements of Rural Sociology. By Newell L. Sims. Rev. ed. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1934. Pp. xv, 718.

Those who are familiar with Professor Sims' original work, *Elements of Rural Sociology*, will find several changes in the 1934 edition. Statistical data have been changed to conform with early releases from the 1930 census, a new chapter dealing with the social process in rural-urban civilization has been added, the chapters dealing with "The Structural Element" have been changed from last to second place in the book, and certain parts have been re-written. As it stands, the book is composed of five parts, an "Introduction" and comprehensive treatments of the "Structural," "Vital," "Cultural," and "Material Elements" in rural life.

In the Preface the author states that the viewpoint of the work is twofold. It involves a distinctive concept of sociology and society and an approach to country life partly from the angle of the urban dweller. In the Introduction, Professor Sims defines scientific sociology as the science of "the behavior of energy manifest in social forms" and sets forth, as the requirements of a pure science of sociology, the need for a clear concept of what society is, a clear concept of sociology, and more scientific knowledge. This is followed by a brief discussion of the ruralist versus the urbanist. Consciously or unconsciously, rural life is being measured and judged by the norms of urban groups, because they set the pace in the Great Society. In so far as rural sociology "continues to be a science of social adequacy," it will judge rural life in terms of the urban.

Following the Introduction are five chapters on the community and two on rural social organization, these chapters comprising the division entitled "The Structural Element." Four chapters dealing with population characteristics, composition, and movements comprise the division on "The Vital Element," and fifteen chapters on tradition, attitudes, institutions and the social process constitute Part IV, "The Cultural Element." Among the fifteen chapters are four on tradition and attitudes; two each covering the farm family and home, rural education and the rural school, and rural religion and the church; one on play and recreation; one on sanitation and health; and three on social process and change in the rural-urban social order. The last division, "The Material Element," includes a chapter on farmers' wealth and income and one on the farmer's standard of living.

The subject material is clearly and logically presented. The book contains more than seventy statistical tables and over eighty maps, photographic reproductions, graphs and charts. A selected bibliography is included with each chapter. All in all, Professor Sims has produced one of the best texts in the field of rural sociology as well as a valuable reference work for the general reader.

Though ventured purely as a personal opinion, the reviewer wishes to designate the chapters on "The Structural Element" as the outstanding part of the book. Within less than 150 pages, the author condenses extensive materials into

terse paragraphs, describing the village community as to origin and its development in Saxon and Norman England; the decline and present status of villages of ancient origin; the Russian village; Colonial agricultural communities; village communities in the West; the present-day rural community; the American village as a distinct type of social organization; and planned communities.

An excellent short chapter, entitled "The Country Village," carries the stamp of authoritativeness, not surprising to be sure, since it comes from the pen of the author of *A Hoosier Village* and *The Rural Community: Ancient and Modern*. Illustrative of the subject matter of this chapter, one may notice the treatment of a law of growth for villages in which occurs the following noteworthy generalization: "The real connection with the farms is not in the number of people, but in their standard of living, i.e., in the growth of wealth and the multiplication of wants. It is, therefore, probably not far wrong to say that the growth of the country villages depends upon the increase of local production and a rising standard of living on the farms."

The author's emphasis upon planned communities and the importance of Federal leadership in this field of activity is timely.

On the other hand, those sections dealing with farmers' coöperative organizations, and general organizations such as the Farm Bureau, might have been strengthened by the use of recent analytical studies as a basis for the subject matter of the text.

The division on "The Vital Element" adequately and briefly describes rural population as to numbers, classes, geographic distribution, increase and decrease, sex and age, ethnic elements, vitality, mental characteristics, and geographic mobility. The effects of population movements on rural society are discussed and remedial measures proposed.

By far the greatest part of the book is devoted to "The Cultural Element," traditions, attitudes, institutions, and rural-urban social processes. It is in this division that the emphasis upon social adequacy and the application of urban norms to rural life appears most markedly. Much space is given to "need," "betterment," and "improvement," while rural institutions and agencies are measured in terms of urban standards and yardsticks. This is done thoughtfully, however, as is well illustrated by the discussion of compulsory schooling (p. 503) and child labor in farming areas. Moreover, as hitherto indicated, this emphasis on reform and welfare is well balanced by an abundance of factual materials and consequent generalizations in the more restricted field of rural sociology.

This work stands between the earlier works in the field of rural sociology, which were chiefly concerned with the reform and improvement of rural life, and pure rural sociology, whose chief concern is the social process itself. The author takes the position that rural sociology must (for the time being at least)

serve as a science of social adequacy for rural life, while continuing to approximate a pure science.

University of Arizona

E. D. TETREAU

Family and Society: A Study of the Sociology of Reconstruction. By Carle C. Zimmerman and Merle E. Frampton. New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1935. Pp. xv, 611.

It would indeed be unfortunate if students of sociology were misled by the title of this volume into the belief that it is of interest only to specialists in family research. It is true that the primary concern of the authors is with the family, but not, as is so often the case, with the family as such. Rather, following LePlay, they regard the family as the basic social unit, through the intensive study of which the analyst may evaluate the adequacy or inadequacy of the culture in which it is an operative unit. So conceived, the concept of the family assumes the proportions of a well-rounded theory and method for the investigation and interpretation of society. As such, its fundamental hypotheses and methodological procedures merit the recognition and study of all who profess an interest in social theory or social research.

The authors have well described their work as "a brief for the application of theories similar to those held by LePlay to the study of social facts." In accord with this objective, they have developed in the first part of their treatise what might be called an orientation of the family to modern society. This is followed by a brief critical treatment of hypotheses which have been prominent in the study of family and society both in the past and in contemporary research. In brief, the gist of their argument in this section centers around a disclosure of the inadequacy of the evolutionary, functional, and companionate hypotheses for a realistic and practical study of the family in modern society, a plea for the further development of methods of investigation, and a preliminary exposition of the general characteristics and promise of the LePlay approach.

The second part is devoted to a detailed development of the theoretical and methodological contributions of LePlay. The inclusion of pertinent information concerning his life, temperament, training, and experience, together with a portrayal of social conditions in France and in Europe during his lifetime, greatly enhance the reader's understanding of the origin and nature of LePlay's thought.

Based upon the author's convictions of the importance of original research and thinking for constructive scientific work, the third part of the volume presents mainly a report and interpretation, from the LePlay point of view, of representative family types in the Ozark Highlands. By way of contrast to the close adherence of these Highlanders to a traditional way of life and a strong

"social constitution," the later chapters in this section are devoted to an analysis of the plight of uprooted families now bearing the brunt of the depression in New England industrial villages.

The fourth and last part of the book consists of an excellent (abridged) translation of the first volume of LePlay's *Les Ouvriers Europeens*, by Professor Dupertuis of Boston University. This translation, incorporated within the body of the treatise, might more properly have been appended to it, especially in view of the fact that its contents were extensively developed in an earlier section, mentioned above.

On the whole, the book suffers somewhat from poor organization, redundancy, and prolixity. This, however, detracts little from its basic challenge to several assumptions and hypotheses currently held as scientifically valid by many sociologists. It is not feasible, within the space of this review, to discuss them in the detail which they require for adequate treatment. At best, we can but mention a few respects in which this study represents a fundamental shift of approach in the scientific investigation of social life, as well as in the treatment of social problems, and leave the further investigation of their implications to the curiosity of the reader.

Broadly speaking, perhaps the most important challenge of this work lies in the fact that it is, essentially, an adventure into the realm of values. This is not to say that it is a treatise in ethics, that it in any way passes moral judgment upon the lives of the representative types which it studies, or that it is in the least concerned with religious connotations. It is, on the contrary, firmly grounded in scientific fact. It differs, however, from much contemporary work in that it recognizes and attaches importance to fundamental changes in the social psychology of families which are transplanted into different economic and social environments. This fact in itself would scarcely distinguish their work as unique were not the authors impelled by their almost complete acceptance of LePlay's social philosophy to establish certain psychological criteria for the evaluation of different types of social organization, and to proceed to interpret their investigations of families in rural and in urban environments in the light of these value-judgments. It is upon these latter developments that the claim of the authors to originality and freshness of treatment largely rests. It is in these respects that their work will challenge and stimulate further discussion, and doubtless too, provoke sharp differences of opinion.

Few would question the desirability of peaceful social relationships, of harmonious domestic arrangements, of social solidarity, or of an integrated and smoothly functioning societal structure. LePlay's temperament was rather more sensitively attuned than most to these desiderata, and he found little in the turbulence and confusion of post-revolutionary France that would meet these standards. As a consequence, he turned to the past and to certain pleasurable

associations of his childhood among the peasants and small villages of rural France for the source and inspiration of his social thought. It is not an exaggeration to assert that he unduly romanticized the Middle Ages and the virtues and spiritual contentment of the peasantry.

Throughout their work, the authors stress the necessity for a realistic and practical approach to social investigation. May we not suggest that to impute demoralization and social incapacity to an industrial relief population because it is reluctant to endorse wholeheartedly a garden project, is scarcely realism? Furthermore, is the hypothesis, that a wholesome family and social structure exist in this country today only in the Ozark Highlands, scientifically acceptable? In addition, can we endorse a scientific premise which assumes that an urban environment is socially undesirable, and that the poorest and least advanced of rural environments is socially the most satisfactory? Are we scientifically realistic when we admire meekness, docility and submission to authority in youth? Are we laying the foundation for constructive social research when we deplore, without qualification, the advances made since feudal times in science, technology, industry and social institutions? At any rate, considerable further thought and much additional research will be necessary to establish such theories on a secure scientific footing.

To many, the reading of this book will recall the timeworn controversies of objectivity versus subjectivity, of science versus social reform, but regardless of the reader's particular point of view upon these matters, he will find in this work a strong case for the recognition and study of the social-psychological factors in their relationship to social organization and social change.

University of Wisconsin

GEO. F. THERIAULT, E. L. KIRKPATRICK

Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada. By C. A. Dawson.
Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1936. Pp. xx, 395. \$4.50.

This is the seventh in a series of nine volumes dealing with Canadian Frontiers of Settlement (edited by W. A. Mackintosh and W. L. G. Joerg) and summarizing the investigations of the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee. It deals with what is called "group settlement" on the frontier illustrated by the Doukhobors, the Mennonites, the "Mormons," the German Catholics and the French-Canadians. Each group is taken up according to its origin, its movement to the frontier, its conflict with other groups, its changes after contact with secular influences, its agricultural methods, and its present organization and standards of living. The general problem is that of finding what influence "group settlement" has had in the Prairie Provinces in contrast to the individual infiltration of persons and families to the region. It is essentially a case study of these five groups. No particular attention is given to the relative importance

of the two forms of settlement, other than a map indicating the regions settled by "groups" and a general statement that "group settlement . . . has been much in evidence in the prairie region." The conclusion is reached that group settlement, in contrast to individual settlement, leads to greater residential stability, productive efficiency, greater coöperative attack upon the problems of the frontier, the facilitation of social contacts, and the development of social institutions. The "separatist communities" aroused the antagonism of their more secular neighbors because of differences in language, in nationalism, in institutions, and in practices. Pressure was brought to bear through school, homestead and other regulations, to "Canadianize" these sectarian communities. This brought about strained relations between the *bloc* communities and their neighbors. In the past, and even today, sporadic conflict (*e.g.* civil warfare and rebellion) has resulted in the burning of schools, nudist demonstrations, and the imprisonment of many recalcitrant sectarians. However, commerce and trade brought about by the extension of the railway systems proved to be a greater "culturalizing" force than public regulation. As a result, "the distinctiveness of separatist colonies" has retreated rapidly under the great influence of "the inevitable tide" of *Gesellschaftism*.

This is a study of which the author and the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee may well be proud. It combines scientific insight with a practical application of realism and confronts sociological theory with empirical facts, a development which should be welcomed. However, the following criticisms are pertinent. The author is a devotee of Robert E. Park's theories of the "natural history of sects." In this work, too much attention is given to elaborating the natural history of sectarianism and too little to the recognition that agriculture itself is essentially a "way of life." Consequently, the author fails generally to point out that sectarianism in the Canadian communities is essentially a typological development of agriculturism *per se*, and that the decrease in the extreme sectarianism of these particular groups has also been associated with an increased development of the idea of a "way of life" among the other Canadian farmers. In the opinion of the reviewer, the author does not appreciate sufficiently the contribution to the agricultural settlement which has been made possible by these typological groups. In other words, the work dwells too much on "ecology," "cultural margins," and the "natural history of sects," and too little upon the theoretical analysis of the inner social characteristics of the agricultural community in general. This point comes out in particular where the author, in comparing the Mennonites with the French-Canadians (p. 365), adopts the assumption that stable settlement is the result of "adequate incomes." Such an hypothesis is contrary to the general thesis of the book, that the social characteristics of these "peculiar peoples" have, on the whole, enabled them to become masters of a good livelihood on what was a few years ago a rather desolate frontier. In other words, these peoples met the exigencies of a frontier in order

to have a "way of life" of their own. Becoming rich and prosperous was only an incidental fact, probably a result as much as a cause.

This point is important because today we are trying to settle the issue as to whether farming is a question of "adequate income" or a "way of life." Studies by E. A. Willson of North Dakota indicate that the American farmers who were most successful on the frontier of that state had a different familistic organization from those which were least successful. "Canadianization" may be "inevitable" in the Prairie Provinces, but the question as to whether it has led or will lead to greater "stability" is not yet answered. Thus, the author, a sociologist, accepts certain dogmas of economic determinism which are incongruous with the sociological facts presented in his treatise.

Harvard University

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

A Plan for Regional Administrative Districts in the State of Washington. By Selden Cowles Menefee. Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1935. Pp. vii, 29-79.

To students interested in the several regional studies now under way in the various states of the Union, the Washington study entitled *A Plan for Regional Administration Districts in the State of Washington* as presented by Selden Cowles Menefee, will be a welcome piece of original research.

The introductory phase of this study in a very stimulating way lays the background for the movement towards regionalization that seems to be arousing interest throughout many parts of our country. In agreement with geographers, sociologists, and students of government, Mr. Menefee calls our attention to the fact that the American community used to be considered the basic unit for official organization, but that today our basic units have defaulted to state and federal governmental agencies in many of the former functions of local government. Hence the present trend in America seems more in the direction of "trade-center mindedness" instead of the former "community-center mindedness." He further defines a region as a constellation of communities with various activities and resources, and rightly suggests that in any attempt to regionalize a state by way of substituting larger regional units for the existing county units, geography should receive first consideration.

In order of importance he lists as criteria for the determination of regional boundaries (1) geography, (2) industry and resources, (3) population, (4) communication, (5) trade areas, and (6) other considerations. Upon such a basis he suggests a plan for the state of Washington whereby the existing 39 counties would be replaced by 12 regional districts. He suggests that the study of county finances indicates that each division should have a population of 30,000 or more in order to furnish fairly adequate services at a minimum per

capita cost, and that the regions be so arranged that all the inhabitants of each would be within a few hours drive by auto from the county seat or district center.

In conclusion, he suggests that the proposed plan should not be considered permanent or final, but should be considered the best plan for districting the state at present, and should be flexible enough so as to cope with future shifts in population, development of new resources, and the establishment of new avenues of communication.

From a geographer's standpoint, the chief weakness of this study is that the proposed plan conforms throughout to present state and county boundaries, despite their admitted illogical location. It should be designated a form of county consolidation and not a truly regionalization movement in keeping with the state's geographic base.

Brigham Young University

GEORGE H. HANSEN

Southern Regions of the United States. By Howard W. Odum. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. xi, 664. \$4.00.

Of the newer approaches toward the solution of present-day social and economic problems, none holds greater promise than that of the emerging concept of regionalism. The time for its development is ripe, and the importance of its practical and theoretical implications can hardly be exaggerated. The present work constitutes the first major contribution to this new technique and will doubtless be used for some time to come as the basis and starting point in the attack on the many social problems to which the regional approach is applicable. In addition to its importance as a trail-blazer in a new scientific approach, the volume is a veritable storehouse of practical state information, lucidly presented and covering an almost unbelievably wide range of topics, all of which are synthesized into the development of the regional picture. The study utilizes more than 700 varied indices and some 600 maps, charts and tables by which it attempts for the first time, "a realistic and comprehensive picturization of the southern regional culture."

The volume is divided into three major parts, Part I presenting the general objectives of the study and a more or less summarized picture of the southern, as apart from the other regions of the nation. There are also chapters on "Sub-regions of the Southeast," "The Tennessee Valley," "The Southwest and the Southeast," and a concluding chapter entitled "Toward Regional Planning." Part II, the longer of the three parts, expands several of the subjects taken up in summary form in Part I and, in addition, analyzes a number of new factors which grow logically out of the first summarized statement. It also emphasizes the practical implications of regionalism for a program of social and economic planning. Part III comprises a statement of the plan of study, a bibliography

of books and magazine articles utilized in the work, a list of maps, charts and tables included in the volume, and a general index. In view of the comprehensiveness of the work, the latter is invaluable in locating the various items in the vast wealth of source material contained in the volume.

The publication was made possible by a special grant from the General Education Board to the Social Science Research Council, the latter functioning through the Southern Regional Committee. To Dr. Odum, appointed to take charge of the study, great credit is due not only for his success in the task of presenting a most complex and diverse mass of data, but also for his managerial ability in synthesizing the work of a number of the best social scientists in the South who coöperated with him in collecting and assembling these data. Although the reviewer found some difficulty in following the logic of presentation in the volume, such difficulty is obviously largely inherent in the nature of the material itself, rather than in its presentation. In addition to a possible rearrangement and combination of some of the materials, the value of the work might also be somewhat enhanced by a concise classification of the many indices used, together with the methods employed in weighting and selecting these indices for the various purposes at hand. In view of the tremendous task of assembling these data on the one hand, and the great strides which their presentation makes into a hitherto relatively undeveloped field on the other, the reviewer feels that indicating errors of a more or less minor nature is of such comparative unimportance as to be unworthy of space in this review. They are therefore dismissed as more or less necessary concomitants of pioneer work of this kind.

The great volume of social and economic data on the United States presented in this volume is an important contribution of materials. But of vastly more importance is the function which these materials have been given in contributing a technique for the delineation of regions and sub-regions. References to "regions" are certainly not new, but "regions" determined by anything approaching scientific accuracy are decidedly new. It is at this point that this volume makes its greatest contribution. Regionalism as conceived by Dr. Odum may be roughly understood as the definition of social areas of functional homogeneity for the purpose of research, analysis and action. An illustration may clarify the general technique involved in determining these regions. The text points out (p. 5) that, "one of the major contributions of the study is the working hypothesis of the relatively clear-cut differentiation between the older Southeast and the emerging Southwest . . ." One aspect of this, for example, is the determination of whether Louisiana and Arkansas, both west of the Mississippi, should be included in the Southeast or in the Southwest. The general procedure in this example involved three major steps: (1) The task of delimitation involving an appraisal of the traditional "South." (2) The appraisal of general historical and cultural factors within the traditional area of the South which, when applied,

showed that it was not sufficiently homogeneous to be characterized as a reality. (3) The application of various indices to the states or other subdivisions within the larger area for the purpose of determining the various areas of homogeneity. The actual indices employed in making these final determinations involved approximately 200 selected factors and in addition an appraisal of the general geographical, industrial and cultural conditions. Tested by these criteria, Louisiana and Arkansas qualify overwhelmingly with the Southeast as differentiated from the Southwest. Examples selected at random from the indices used are: per capita cost for each child in daily school attendance; students in universities, colleges, and professional schools; percentage of church membership; aggregate net income per capita; value of mineral products; death-rate per 1,000 population; per cent of farms having tractors; Federal aid to states; homicides per 1,000 population, etc. One of the more important basic assumptions underlying the selection of indices is that regions are essentially functional. Accordingly, considerable emphasis is attached to the selection of indices designed to measure the various social, economic, and cultural activities. Following the general method as stated in the above brief example, the United States has been divided into six basic regions: Southeast, Southwest, Far West, Northwest, Middle States and Northeast. The Southeast and Southwest have in turn been broken down and analyzed in terms of subregions. The field thus opened up, together with its revelation of the ground yet uncovered, is certain to focus a great deal of additional effort along these lines of study.

Although the greatest contributions of the volume are in the fields already mentioned, Dr. Odum's statements on regional planning for the South are worthy of much careful study. The reader is impressed with the need for such planning in the South as he notes statements at recurring intervals which reveal the tremendous discrepancies between present attainment and potentialities. The book indeed constitutes a distinct challenge to the South. The projected plans assume that undesirable conditions may best be ameliorated, not by treating the regions as isolated sections as in the old divisive sectionalism, but by close mutual coöperation between all regions, each strengthening and aiding the others.

Louisiana State University

HAROLD C. HOFFSOMMER

County Finances in the State of Washington, with Particular Attention to the Financial Problems of County Welfare Activities and Unemployment Relief. University of Washington Publications in Social Science, Vol. 5, Number 4. By Joseph P. Harris. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1935. Pp. vii, 217-374.

The law creating the Washington State Emergency Relief Administration required that counties should match state funds for unemployment relief, but

permitted exceptions to be made. "As many of the counties claimed that they were unable to match state and federal funds, this study was undertaken to make available comparative data on the financial status of the several counties." The present study is largely a compilation of official statistics showing such county data as population, area, assessed valuation, indebtedness, tax levies, tax collections, trend of county expenditures, cost of unemployment relief, and a summary analysis of the financial conditions for the four counties in the state with the largest relief loads.

Relief costs borne by local governmental units seem to be responsible for most of the counties' financial troubles. Urban counties on the West Coast, dependent largely upon the lumber industry and with large relief loads, have suffered materially under a policy of considering relief a local government matter. The majority of agricultural counties in the state of Washington seem to have fared better financially than the urban counties. The author's summary for one of the lumbering counties on the West Coast seems to substantiate such a statement. "Probably no county in the state is in worse financial shape than Grays Harbor County. Assessments have dropped very markedly; tax collections are poor; outstanding warrants are nearly twice what the county may expect in receipts from a ten-mill levy, and the total bonded and warrant debt of the county is almost five per cent. It is difficult to see how the county can carry on. Many county functions will have to be discontinued, and all welfare activities will have to be reduced very drastically."

A set of ten recommendations, most of which require legislative action, are included in the summary. The chief value of a study of the type reported in this publication is to portray conditions in local government that need correction, and to get before the officials and legislature of the state a systematic presentation of the facts and the need for local government reform.

Cornell University

ROBERT A. POLSON

News Notes and Announcements

American Sociological Society.—The following letter from H. P. Fairchild, President of the American Sociological Society, will be of interest to all readers of *Rural Sociology*.

New York City,
May 1, 1936.

DEAR PROFESSOR NELSON:

Hearty congratulations on the initial number of *Rural Sociology*! The magazine makes a fine appearance, and while I have not yet had time to read all the articles, they appear to be well chosen and scholarly. Here's wishing long life and increasing success and influence to the new journal.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) H. P. FAIRCHILD.

Professor Lowry Nelson,
Resettlement Administration,
Washington, D. C.

Columbia University.—Beginning February 1, 1936, a joint project of Columbia University, the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and the Rural Research Unit of the Works Progress Administration undertook a study of the social effects of the depression on village-centered farming communities.

The two Federal agencies are caring for about fifty per cent of the field work. The Council for Research in the Social Sciences of Columbia University is responsible for the administration, tabulation, balance of the field work, and write-up of the results. The field projects selected are the 140 villages surveyed initially in 1923-24 by the Institute for Social and Religious Research, and again in 1930 by that agency and the Hoover Social Trends Committee. Dr. Edmund deS. Brunner of Columbia University is directing the study as he did the previous ones. Dr. Irving Lorge of Columbia is the assistant director. Dr. Conrad Taeuber is representing the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life in the study.

With the assistance of a grant from the American Council of Education's Youth Commission, a census enumeration will be conducted in about two-fifths of the villages.

It is hoped that the report of the study will be ready for the press by the end of the present year.

Connecticut State College.—The New England Research Council, which in the past has consisted quite largely of economists, recently appointed a Committee on Rural Sociology. N. L. Whetten was appointed chairman of the Committee, with C. C. Zimmerman of Harvard University and W. R. Gordon of Rhode Island State College, as the other members. The purpose of the Committee is to promote, coördinate, and critically evaluate research in rural sociology in New England.

Edward C. Devereux, Jr., and Walter C. McKain, Jr., graduate assistants in the Department of Sociology at Connecticut State College, have been granted assistantships in the Department of Sociology at Harvard University for the coming year. They plan to continue their graduate work towards their doctorates.

Professor J. L. Hypes is on leave of absence during the second semester and is traveling in South Africa and Australia. He plans to return sometime in June.

Cornell University.—Dr. W. A. Anderson has been advanced to a full professorship in the Department of Rural Social Organization, New York State College of Agriculture, at Cornell University.

Mr. Edwin Losey, recently assistant supervisor of rural research in the Iowa Relief Administration, and Mr. Duane L. Gibson, who has been assistant supervisor of rural research under the F.E.R.A. in New York State, have been appointed as graduate assistants in the Department of Rural Social Organization at Cornell University, effective October 1.

Harvard University.—Professor Corrado Gini, University of Rome, is a visiting lecturer in Sociology at Harvard University this spring. He will remain this summer for the Harvard Tercentenary Conference of Arts and Sciences, where he will lecture on "Authority and the Individual During the Different States of Evolution of the Nations."

Professors Robert E. Park and F. Stuart Chapin, well-known for their friendly interest in rural sociology, will teach at the Harvard Summer School.

Professor David Rozman, Massachusetts State College, has taken over the direction of research on rural problems, which the Emergency Planning Board of Massachusetts is conducting.

Dr. Antonín Obrdlík, Masaryk University, Brno, Czechoslovakia, is at Harvard University this spring and summer on a research fellowship from the Rockefeller Foundation.

Dr. Richard Schanck, Instructor and Tutor in Psychology, Harvard University, is going to England this summer to make a study of Harwell, Berkshire. This is a study of the social psychology of a rural village.

John H. Useem, research assistant, Harvard University, and assistant state supervisor of rural research for the W.P.A. of Massachusetts, has accepted a fellowship in Rural Sociology at the University of Wisconsin for next year. He also is going to England in August to assist Dr. Schanck for a short time.

Lyman H. Ziegler, graduate student and research assistant at Harvard University, has an assistantship at Duke University for the coming year.

Karl Shafer, graduate student and fellow at Harvard University, will be a special investigator in the Division of Rural Resettlement, Resettlement Administration, Washington, D. C., this summer.

Mrs. Clyde Kluckhohn has a fellowship from Radcliffe to study a rural village in New Mexico for her Ph.D. thesis next year.

Gordon T. Bowden, Harvard '37, will spend the summer studying the family in Silver City, New Mexico. An analysis of the historical and racial background of the present inhabitants will be presented as his A.B. thesis next year.

Arthur K. Davis, Harvard '37, will make a sociological study this summer of Calais, Vermont, for his A.B. thesis next year.

Professor Carle C. Zimmerman's work, *Consumption and Standards of Living*, will be published by D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., in June.

Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology, by P. A. Sorokin and C. C. Zimmerman, is being brought out in a Japanese edition by Professor Rikuhei Imori of Tottori Agricultural College, Tottori, Japan.

Iowa State College.—The Second Annual Country Life Institute at Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa, June 22-24, has as its theme for 1936, "The Mid-West in American Life." The Institute will deal with such phases of that general theme as:

Is the Mid-West dependent upon other sections of the country for its prosperity? Are other sections dependent upon it?

How sound are the political and economic ideas which are gaining ground in the Mid-West? Do they constitute a desirable contribution to American thinking?

What contributions is the Mid-West making to the social and cultural life of the nation? What are the limitations of its social and cultural life?

How adequate is Mid-Western philosophy; Mid-Western education?

To bring out the details of those questions and provide a background for discussion, J. E. Foster, Dean of the Iowa State College Summer Quarter and Chairman of the Institute Committee, has scheduled the following speakers: George S. Counts, educational sociologist, Teachers College, Columbia Uni-

versity; Zona Gale, authoress, Portage, Wisconsin; Rudolph Ganz, pianist, conductor and composer, President, Chicago Musical College; Toyohiko Kagawa, leader in Japanese religious and coöperative movements; Edwin G. Nourse, Director, Institute of Economics, Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.; Elmer T. Peterson, Editor, *Better Homes and Gardens*, Des Moines, Iowa; Mary Swartz Rose, nutritionist, Teachers College, Columbia University; T. V. Smith, Professor of Philosophy, University of Chicago, Chicago, and State Senator from the Fifth District in Illinois; W. W. Waymack, Associate Editor, the *Register*, Des Moines, Iowa; and George S. Wehrwein, Professor of Economics, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

Each address by one of the principal speakers will be followed by a conference, with discussion by those in attendance. Approximately 150 leaders of rural life in the Mid-West will serve as associate leaders of these conferences which will be led by members of the Iowa State College staff.

Programs are available from Dean Foster.

University of Kiel.—Sociologists in all countries will be saddened to learn of the death of Professor Ferdinand J. Tönnies, dean of German sociologists, who died in Kiel, Germany, April 14, 1936. Dr. Tönnies, who has been teaching sociology at the University of Kiel since 1881, was born July 26, 1855. He studied at the universities in Jena, Leipzig, Bonn, Berlin, Kiel, and Tuebingen.

In America, Professor Tönnies was best known for his *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, first published in 1887. The seventh edition was published in 1925.

Professor Tönnies was a frequent contributor to scientific journals, and he published a large number of books. Among them are *Kritik der öffentlichen Meinung*, 1922; *Soziologische Studien und Kritik*, 1925; and *Einführung in die Soziologie*. All of these found many American readers.

Professor Tönnies was formerly president of the German Sociological Society. He was also a member of the International Institute of Sociology, a corresponding member of the Sociological Society of London, and an honorary member of the Japanese Sociological Society and the American Sociological Society.

University of Kentucky.—More than a hundred rural leaders attended one or more of the sessions of the second annual six-day short course for town and country pastors and lay leaders, which was held at the University of Kentucky under the sponsorship of the College of Agriculture and the Kentucky Rural Church Council, the week of April 20 to 25. About one-fourth of this number were in attendance throughout the week.

Louisiana State University.—Professor P. A. Sorokin of Harvard University gave a series of three lectures at Louisiana State University this spring.

During the coming summer E. A. Schuler will serve as consultant on the study of land-tenure problems being undertaken by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, U. S. D. A., and the Rural Resettlement Division, Resettlement Administration.

Professor C. C. Zimmerman of Harvard University will teach at the Louisiana State University Summer Session again this year.

Harold C. Hoffsummer is beginning a study of Landlord-Tenant Relations in Louisiana. He also is serving as collaborator on the Resettlement Administration's study of Coffee County, Alabama.

Fred C. Frey will spend the summer studying social conditions in Europe. His itinerary includes the Scandinavian countries and Russia.

T. Lynn Smith will teach courses in rural sociology at Brigham Young University this summer.

University of Maryland.—The rural social research program of the University of Maryland at present consists chiefly of coöperative projects being undertaken with the Rural Research Unit of the Works Progress Administration. T. B. Manny is State Director of Rural Research, assisted by H. G. Clowes who formerly did the same type of work in Pennsylvania.

Also included in the work of the Department of Sociology is a coöperative project of rural sociological extension, which at the present time includes chiefly an attempt to get at the needs and problems of older rural young people as a basis for developing extension activities for their particular needs.

Michigan State College.—On May 9 the Fourth Annual Michigan Collegiate Country Life Conference will be held at Michigan State Normal College, Ypsilanti.

The Department of Sociology is coöperating with the Works Progress Administration in a study of changes in relief in a state sample of eleven counties, and also with Dr. Brunner in the resurvey of American villages.

Other research projects in progress or nearing completion are as follows: (1) Case Studies of Rural Communities; (2) Rural Weekly Newspapers in Relation to Community Development; (3) Changes in the Population of Michigan Since 1930; (4) Standards of Living of Farm Families.

The Annual Institute for Social Workers, under the auspices of the Department of Sociology, will be held at the College during the week of July 13-17.

University of Minnesota.—The Division of Rural Sociology in Minnesota is coöperating with the Works Progress Administration and Resettlement Adminis-

tration on several projects. Dr. E. L. Kirkpatrick of the University of Wisconsin is in charge of these studies on behalf of the Resettlement Administration. The first study might be styled a socio-economic inventory of the rural areas in the three states, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan.

Next in point of interest is the study of the Beltrami Island Resettlement Project. The first part of this study will portray the social and economic background of the settlers who have been moved from the sub-marginal forest areas of northern Minnesota into the better areas in the same region. Charles P. Loomis of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, U. S. Department of Agriculture, R. W. Murchie of the University of Minnesota, and Skuli H. Rutford, Director of Rural Rehabilitation in Minnesota are coöperating in the supervision of this project.

A study of mobility and a fairly extensive study of comparative standards of living have also been initiated. These are under the direction of Mr. Chester R. Wasson, Assistant Supervisor of Rural Research in Minnesota.

The Division of Rural Sociology will issue in June an Experiment Station *bulletin* on trends in the rural population within the state.

Montana State College.—The Department of Agriculture, Montana State College, is publishing a series of *bulletins* under the main title *Readjusting Montana's Agriculture*. Among the *bulletins* in the series will be "Population Resources and Prospects," and another, "Land Ownership and Tenure." The main purpose of the series is to make available to the farm population, through the Extension Division, materials gathered by the College and other research agencies.

Ohio State University.—A report entitled, "The Trend of Births, Deaths, Natural Increase and Migration in the Rural Population of Ohio" is ready for distribution. The authors are C. E. Lively and C. L. Folse. The study, which was done coöperatively with the F.E.R.A., is published as *Mimeographed Bulletin No. 87* of the Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station.

The Ohio Sociological Society held its twelfth annual meeting on the campus at Ohio State University, April 24-25. The places on the program were filled largely by the more youthful members of the Society and by newcomers to the state. Professor J. A. Quinn of the University of Cincinnati was the retiring President and Professor A. A. Johnston of the College of Wooster is the president-elect. S. C. Newman, Ohio State University, is secretary-treasurer.

Purdue University.—Extension rural sociologists in the North Central States met at Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana, March 19-21, 1936 in a conference

which was of sociological significance from several standpoints. The meetings were planned and conducted as a series of group discussions. Dealing with the general question, "What is the place of rural sociology in a state extension program?" sociological aspects such as origin and growth of the work, type and form of projects, relationships and organization of programs and function of workers were given consideration. There was apparent agreement that extension programs in rural sociology are increasingly similar, and extension rural sociologists are functioning not only as group specialists but as members of a group making consistent contributions to agriculture and rural life.

Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Ohio and Wisconsin each have one or more workers engaged in rural sociology extension. Four other North Central states which have started or are planning work of a similar character were represented at the conference—Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky and Missouri. Reports of experiences and projects indicate that rural sociology in coöperative extension work is taking on the character of a three-fold program.

1. *Rural Organization* which involves community planning; work with farmers' organizations and rural institutions; conferences for rural leaders; and services to groups and individuals contributing to more effective group effort in rural life.
2. *Home and community activities* which include creative leisure-time programs for home and community groups, and supply enriching cultural experiences for rural people.
3. *Sociological service* that is supplied through conferences and Committee work and interpretations of rural-life studies. It is a service which emphasizes certain techniques bearing upon group adjustment. The democratic process of analyzing and projecting "collective forethought" is its special concern.

In this conference, extension sociologists from the North Central States had the help of leaders from the Federal office of extension work, B. L. Hummel of Virginia, National Chairman of Extension Rural Sociologists, and the heads of two departments of rural sociology, Dr. C. E. Lively of Ohio State University and Dr. E. L. Morgan of the University of Missouri.

University for Rural Studies, Brno, Czechoslovakia.—Dr. Antonín Obrdlík of Brno, Czechoslovakia, who is at present a Rockefeller visiting scholar in the United States, informs us of an important development in Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovakian sociological studies have always given considerable attention to the scientific aspects of rural life, but we may now expect a more extensive evolution of this special part of sociology. Very recently the first Czechoslovakian chair in rural sociology has been established. This is at the University

for Rural Studies in Brno. Dr. Tomáš Cep, Vysoká Škola Zemědělská, Brno, Czechoslovakia, has been appointed as lecturer.

Rutgers University.—The newly established Department of Rural Sociology in the New Jersey State College of Agriculture at Rutgers University looks forward to the gradual establishment of research, teaching and extension work. Research is beginning under the plan for coöperative rural research with Miss Jeannette Walton as Assistant State Supervisor. A preliminary analysis of rural relief cases is now in progress. The teaching program will include a course in Rural Sociology for seniors in agriculture and a course in Rural Organizations. These courses will be taught by Howard W. Beers. First emphasis in the extension program is being placed on the study of rural young men and women, and the development of an experimental youth program in four counties. J. C. Hutchinson, Jr., has been attached to the department to assist with this program.

University of Tennessee.—Under the coöperative plan of rural research in Tennessee, twelve *Mimeographed Bulletins* dealing with relief and other rural problems have been published. These have been prepared by Professor Allred with the assistance of Messrs. Matthews, Luebke, Tosch, Smith, Fitzgerald, Collins, Atkins, Cotton, Mason, Marshall, Sanders, Baker, Raskoff, and Hendrix.

Benjamin D. Raskoff, a graduate of Montana and former graduate student at Oregon, has been appointed Research Assistant in Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, University of Tennessee.

William E. Hendrix has resigned as Research Assistant in Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, University of Tennessee, and has accepted a position as Assistant Analyst under the coöperative plan of rural research. Mr. Hendrix is now working on a study of the effect of soil fertility on rural standards of living.

Washington State College.—*Emergency Relief in Washington, with Special Attention to Characteristics of Rural Relief Households*, by Paul H. Landis and Mae Pritchard, a publication sponsored by the State College of Washington in coöperation with the Division of Research, Statistics, and Finance of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and the Washington State Department of Public Welfare, went to press in April.

"Population Trends in Washington, a Graphic Summary," an *Experiment Station Bulletin*, went to press in May.

A survey of the supply and demand of farm labor in the Yakima Valley, the principal fruit-growing district in the state of Washington, has been in progress since July, 1935. A preliminary bulletin will go to press June 1, summarizing

findings up to January 4, 1936. The project is designed to obtain a complete labor history of 400 farms over a period of one year. Schedules are also being used to obtain occupational and mobility characteristics of transient laborers employed on the farm.

University of Wisconsin.—J. H. Kolb has accepted a position as director of the Citizens' Committee on Public Welfare, appointed by the governor of the state. The work will be done on a part-time arrangement with the University during the summer and the fall semester.

Books Received

- County Finances in the State of Washington.* By Joseph P. Harris. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1935. Pp. vii, 271-374.
- A Program For Land Use in Northern Minnesota.* By Oscar B. Jesness and Reynolds I. Nowell. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1935, Pp. xvi, 338. \$2.50.
- County Library Service in the South.* By Louis R. Wilson and Edward A. Wight. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936. Pp. xv, 259.
- Rural Sociology.* By John Morris Gillette. Third Edition. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. Pp. xxxiv, 778. \$4.50.
- Libraries of the South.* By Tommie Dora Barker. Chicago: American Library Association, 1936. Pp. xvi, 215. \$1.75.
- The Movable School Goes to The Negro Farmer.* By Thomas Monroe Campbell. Tuskegee: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1936. Pp. xiv, 170. \$2.00.
- Population Problems.* By Warren S. Thompson. Revised Edition. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1935. Pp. xi, 500.
- Chile: Land and Society.* By George McCutchen McBride. New York: American Geographical Society, 1936. Pp. xxii, 408.
- A Plan For Regional Administrative Districts in the State of Washington.* By Selden Cowles Menefee. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1935. Pp. vii, 29-79.
- Economics of the Farm Business.* By Theodor Brinkmann. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1935. Pp. x, 172. \$2.00.
- Southern Regions of the United States.* By Howard W. Odum. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. xi, 664. \$4.00.
- The Dairy Industry and the A. A. A.* By John D. Black. Washington: The Brookings Institution, Publication No. 64, 1936. Pp. 520. \$3.00
- Social Reform in Norway.* By John Eric Nordskog. Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1935. Pp. vii, 184.
- Elements of Rural Sociology.* By Newell L. Sims. Revised Edition. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1934. Pp. xv, 718.

- Family and Society. A Study of the Sociology of Reconstruction.* By Carle C. Zimmerman and Merle E. Frampton. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1935. Pp. xv, 611.
- Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada.* By C. A. Dawson. Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1936. Pp. xx, 395. \$4.50.
- Southern Population and Social Planning.* Southern Policy Papers No. 1. By T. J. Woofter, Jr. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. 10.
- Social Security for Southern Farmers.* Southern Policy Papers No. 2. By H. C. Nixon. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. 8.
- Social Legislation in the South.* Southern Policy Papers No. 3. By Charles W. Pipkin. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. 42.
- How The Other Half Is Housed.* Southern Policy Papers No. 4. By Rupert B. Vance. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. 16.
- Industrial Social Security in The South.* Southern Policy Papers No. 5. By Robin Hood. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. 22.
- The Southern Press Considers The Constitution.* Southern Policy Papers No. 6. By Francis P. Miller. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. 28.
- The TVA and Economic Security In The South.* Southern Policy Papers No. 7. By T. Levron Howard. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. 11.
- The Courts and Public-School Property.* By Harold P. Punke. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935. Pp. xvi, 313.
- Is Industry Decentralizing?* By Daniel B. Creamer. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935. Pp. xii, 105.

Rural Sociology



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